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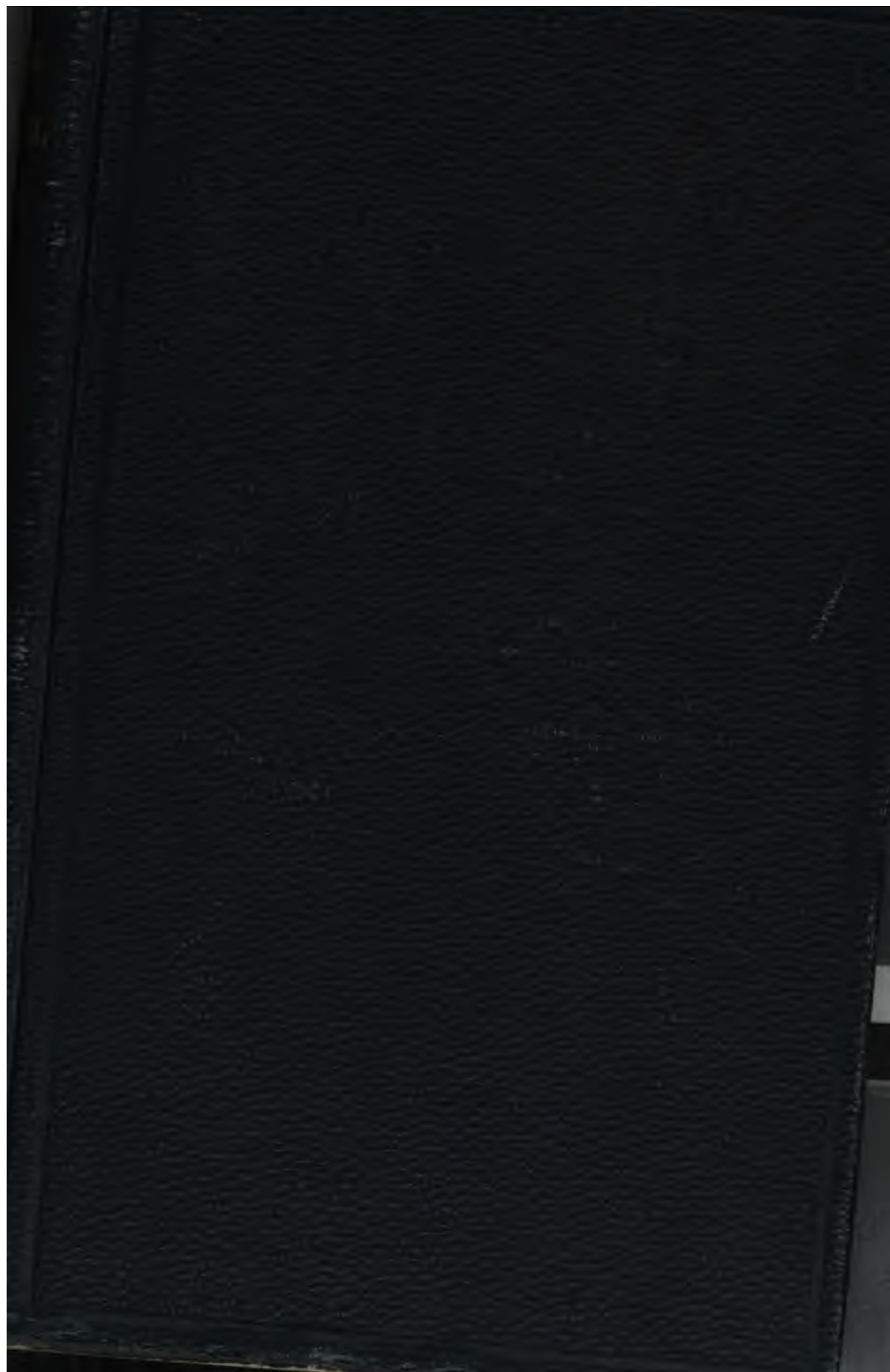
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PUBLICATION FUND.

XXIII.

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THE DEANE PAPERS.

VOL. V.

1782-1790.

THE DEANE PAPERS.

CATO TO FRANCIS BAILEY.

To the Printer of the Freeman's Journal.

SIR,—It is said great pains have been taken to prevail on you to decline printing the intercepted letters under the signature of Silas Deane, and probably with some success, as you have not continued them. While it was doubtful whether they were genuine or spurious, whether Mr. Deane had proved treacherous or not, you might have properly hesitated; but America will now be more benefited by the detection of bad men and their adherents than she can be injured by anything Silas Deane can write. It is well known in this city, and ought to be through all America, that Mr. Deane's former friends and zealous supporters admit that though these letters may not be literally genuine, letters have been received from him containing similar sentiments, such as evince his base desertion of his first principles and the cause of his country; his ingratitude to the French nation, by which he had been so kindly treated; his corruption by the British government; and that he is now in all respects, as he ever has been, the bosom friend of Arnold. If there are no more of these letters to be published, it is hoped some able pen will take up the subject, and draw some useful lessons for the people of America from the conduct of and towards these two men; and if any remains of virtue still exist among us, procure justice to those characters who have been so materially injured by Mr. Deane and his friends. This is a debt

of justice and honour which ought to be paid, and is probably all the reparation which can be made for the money embezzled, the animosity kindled, and the disgrace and shame into which our public councils were betrayed by a blind, perverse attachment to a bad man—an attachment which must have been the effect of interest and mutual corruption, or unaccountable infatuation. No real friend to his country can look back to the journals of that day but must wish the proceedings with respect to Mr. Deane forever obliterated from the annals of America. And nothing is more certain than that congress have never recovered that standing in the confidence and esteem of the people, which they possessed before that period. I have no connection with either of the gentlemen who have suffered by the injustice of congress, and it is probable that the false shame which often prevents individuals from making reparation, will do so in the present instance. If this should happen, it will add one more to the many proofs we see that ingratitude for public services, and injustice to public worth, are not confined to the European world.

CATO.

The Freeman's Journal: or, The North-American Intelligencer, Phil., Jan. 2, 1782.

TO P. WRAY.

Ghent, Jan. 5th, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—I find that Mr. Tisdale is in London. He has wrote me two letters. He gives his address No. 35 Grand Street, Soho, and promises to pay a small sum advanced for his share, for which Mr. Sebor has drawn a bill, not in certain expectation of the payment so much as to give you an opportunity of coming at the man's real character, which may be worth enquiring after. He writes me in a style which gives me reason to think that he has something in view more than a meer common adventure; for after having taken

us in for a trifle which he was unable to pay here, I do not see any reason, supposing him to be but a common adventurer, why he should address me again, and so urgently, on several subjects, since he could not suppose that I should remain ignorant that many things which he told me were without least foundation in truth. He promises to pay the money at sight. I do not much rely on it; but as we have been so foolish as to advance it for him here, I wish, at least, to know who he is, and what his object has been, or may be, at present. I see a letter published in the London Evening Post of the 29th, said to be from me to J. Wadsworth, Esqr., and it is hinted that several others of the same complection are to make their appearance. This is surprizing, and I shall say nothing on the subject until I see the whole of them, which I pray you to send me, if already published, also the pamphlet of Doctor Tucker, *cui bono*. I do not see in the letter published anything, supposing it to be genuine, that is treasonable on my part; the sentiments do not differ materially from those I have long since publicly avowed and supported at Paris; but I know not why a great noise is made about them when by accident they fall into the public papers. I will write you again in a day or two, though you are already three letters in my debt.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

P. Wray, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

TO CHARLES TISDALE.

Ghent, Jan. 5th, 1782.

SIR,—I received your letter from Margate, and this day yours of the 1st came to hand. I applied to Champon, who pretended to know nothing of anything you had left at his house, except a trunk, of which he had not the key; but intimated that he pre-

sumed there was little or nothing in it, but that he could neither open nor part with it but by your express orders; and rather declined telling me what your bill was, which, of course, I did not urge. *Milord and Milady*, as you stile them, have deserted, I presume, from the arts and enticements of Mrs. Vincens servant, and neither he nor they are to be found. If you would have your effects from Champon's, you must give orders express for that purpose, and those may arrive by the time that the shirts which you desire as samples can be ready, and the whole may be sent together. Mr. Sebor returned the 30th ulto. He had occasion for more money in London than he carried with him, as he depended on the sum lent you here to be repaid, as you proposed, at Bruges; and, disappointed in that, was obliged to a friend in London for it, and, as you mention that it will be agreeable to you to pay it to any one in London, he has drawn on you for it by the post. The shirts will be ready by the receipt of your orders on Champon, and any quantity may be had at a very short notice. You will lose no time in sending me the order, nor in giving me the information of what you hint at, but about the nature of which I can form no judgment at present. Some reports in which you are interested appear to be rather mysterious at present in this place. I thank you for your advice, and shall improve it.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

C. Tisdale, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

TO FREDERICK GRAND.

Ghent, Jan. 7th, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote the 26th ulto. and inclosed you a bill on Mr. Vincens for two thousand one hundred livres, but have received no letter from you since,

which has given me uneasiness; but the letter may by some means have miscarried. I must, therefore, pray you to inform me by the return of the post whither you received it, and if it, with the former for 1,900 livres, has been paid. I have the honor to be most respectfully yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Grand, banker.

Thomas Mss.

TO JOHN CHARLES DE BAY.

Ghent, Jan. 7th, 1782.

SIR,—I received the letter which you did me the honor of writing me the 29th ulto., inclosing a bill on Monsr. Vanderstaters for 1,054 livres at days sight, which has been accepted. There is an account in town that Barbadoes is taken by the French; it is not confirmed, but it appears to be probable. I have the honor to make you my compliments of the season, and to be, with much respect, sir,

Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. J. Charles De Bay.

Thomas Mss.

TO EDWARD BANCROFT.

Ghent, Jan. 7th, 1782.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have only time to say that I wrote to Mr. Grand (it is ten days since), and inclosed a bill for 2,100 livres on Mr. Vincens. I have received no answer from Mr. Grand, which makes me uneasy on the subject; must pray to inquire of him if he has received it, and the cause of his not informing me of

it. It is credibly reported that Barbadoes is taken, and though no confirmation has arrived, circumstances render it probable.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Doctor Bancroft.

Thomas Mss.

FRANCIS BAILEY TO CATO.

The Printer to Cato.

SIR,—You have ingeniously wrapped up an unfriendly insinuation against me in the exordium of your piece in the last number of the Freeman's Journal. You appear to believe my resolutions of impartiality had surrendered "to the great pains that had been taken to prevail on me to decline printing the intercepted letters under the signature of Silas Deane."

For the information of you in particular, and the public in general, I shall give the true reason for discontinuing the publication of those letters. It is the following: There is such a sameness of ideas through the whole of his letters as renders them as tedious and insipid as they are odious and detestable. By turning to those I have already published,* you will find such evidence of this as will, I doubt not, lead you to be of my opinion.

One or two gentlemen called, on the appearance of the second letter, and told me they thought there could be no advantage in publishing them, and signified their desire that I should desist; adding, at the same time, that they were of a treasonable nature, &c. I, however, was of a different opinion, and continued the publication of them until I found the dull repetition of sentiment, and even expression, grow disgust-

* The Freeman's Journal printed four letters of Deane, viz.: To Robert Morris and William Duer, in the issue of Nov. 14; to Jeremiah Wadsworth, Nov. 21; and to Simeon Deane, Nov. 28 and Dec. 5, 1781. See letter of Paine to Morris, Nov. 26, 1781, iv. 542.

ing ; and that Deane's intentions were only to disseminate his favourite principles thro' the continent at the same time.

But in justice to those gentlemen to whom Deane addressed his letters, not one of them ever signified to me the least desire of suppressing their republication.

[FRANCIS BAILEY.]

The Freeman's Journal : or, The North-American Intelligencer, Phil., Jan. 9, 1782.

TO THOMAS BARCLAY.

Ghent, Jan. 10th, 1782.

SIR,—I this day received your favor of the 6th, in which you inform me that you have already written two letters to Congress on the subject we discoursed of here. I am really obliged to you for your attention to what concerns me so nearly. You think that your instructions extend only to the accounts of those who are indebted to Congress. I confess that I think the letter of your instructions extend no farther, but I can hardly think that Congress really meant to settle no accounts but those in which the ballance was evidently in their favor. You proposed a plan, when I had the pleasure of conversing with you here, which exactly meets and agrees with my ideas on the subject. That Congress should authorize you or some other, if they please to examine and settle my accounts, with power, in case of difficulty or uncertainty, to call in some person of known character, and acquaintance with the subject that may occasion the difficulty or objection, to advise or decide. I hope that you have laid this proposal before them in your letters. I confess that I cannot conceive of anything more fair and equal. In the mean time you ask of me “the state of the transactions ; for that as soon as you peruse the accounts you will tell me, whether you think yourself

competent to the final adjustment of them or not." I am confident that as an accomptant you must be competent to any thing that is the subject of accompting; but you are not by your instructions authorized to settle mine. Should there be but one livre due to me, whilst should there be the same sum due from me, you have full power to proceed to a settlement. For my part, I am willing and I wish (though my enemies may not believe me) to put the most favorable construction on the resolves of Congress. The resolve informing me that you had instructions to settle my account was passed in September, when I doubt not but they intended to have given you such instructions, but, other affairs intervening, that it never was done. I would send you duplicates of my account by this post, but the time will not permit of it, having already sent on to Congress all the duplicates already made of them; but I have inclosed the state of the accounts, and will send you the particulars, if a safe private conveyance offer, or at the expence of the postage of a small volume, if you judge it necessary. Suppose that Congress presumed that I had public monies in hand, and therefore that my accounts was included in your instructions, they could not presume that they were infallible on a subject not yet examined; and if, on a scrutiny, they should find themselves debtors, instead of being creditors, it is hardly to be supposed that they meant to make one law for their debtors and another for their creditors to receive, but not to pay. I have never had the least objection to submit my accounts to the examination of any impartial man or men acquainted with accounts, and knowing you to be of this character, the receipt of the resolve of Congress gave me the most sensible pleasure; a sight of your instructions and my conversation with you on the subject gave me equal pain. If by the former resolves of Congress, or new ones which may be received, you judge yourself impowered to examine and close this old and to me ruinous affair, I shall be happy, and

will wait on you here, or in Holland, or in France, with pleasure.

Mr. Bromfield lodged here last evening ; he left me a line, but going on early in the morning, I had not the pleasure of seeing him. I pray you to acknowledge the receipt of this, and to be assured that I am with great sincerity, Sir, yours, &c.

S. DEANE.

P. S.—The sketch sent you is taken in haste, and not perhaps so regularly stated as you wish for ; but you will reflect that to be more particular I must send you the whole of the articles, which, I have observed, fill a small volume. I have only to say that I have vouchers for the greatest and most essential part of my charges ; as to commission, I cannot presume that Congress will go in contradiction to their express agreement, or that they will treat me different from their other agents, who were allowed the same ; further, the above purchases were all made before the arrival of my colleagues, Doctor Franklin and Mr. Lee ; for the purchases made afterwards, though the business was done entirely by me, I charged nothing. To Mr. Barclay, Amsterdam.

Thomas Mss.

PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, Jan. 17th, 1782. Two letters, one directed to "Barnabas Deane, Esquire, Merchant, Wethersfield, Conn.," the other to "Thomas Mumford, Esquire, Merchant, Groton, Conn.," being brought to Congress with the seals unbroken ; and it appearing from the seal, and the handwriting of the superscription, as well as from the declaration of the person who brought them from France, that they came from Silas Deane ; and, from sundry concurrent circumstances, there being just grounds to suspect that they contained matters injurious to the publick ; it was

Ordered, That the President open the said letters ;

and if, upon examination, he find they are merely of a private nature, that he seal and forward them ; but if, on the contrary, he find the contents are of such a nature as ought to be made known to Congress, that he lay them before Congress.

The President reported, That he had opened and examined the letters, and finds that they are of such a nature as ought to be known ; whereupon the letters were read. That directed Barnabas Deane being dated at Paris, Sept. 26, 1781 ; and that to Thomas Mumford, dated Paris, Sept. 24, 1781 ; both signed Silas Deane, and appearing to be all in his hand writing.*

On motion of Mr. Carroll, seconded by Mr. Bee :

Ordered, That the said letters be referred to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and that he be instructed to take measures, by the oath of the person who brought them from France, and such other means as he may judge proper, to authenticate their coming from Silas Deane, and being written by him ; and that he communicate the contents of such parts thereof as he thinks proper to the ministers of these United States at the court of Versailles and Madrid ; also to the honorable the minister plenipotentiary of France, and the superintendent of finance.

On motion of Mr. Wolcott, seconded by Mr. Carroll :

Ordered, That the Secretary for Foreign Affairs transmit a certified copy of the letters aforesaid, with the proofs respecting them, to the governor of Connecticut.

Secret Journals of Congress.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON TO THE PRESIDENT OF
CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, Jan. 18th, 1782.

SIR,—I do myself the honor to submit to the inspection of the United States in Congress an affidavit

* Printed in Vol. IV. pp. 468, 476.

made by Mr. Marshall on the subject of Mr. Deane's letters, and have directed copies of the letters and affidavit to be made out for the minister of his most Christian majesty and the superintendent of finance. Measures have long since been taken to put our ministers upon their guard against Mr. Deane. I shall add to them, as opportunities offer, the new proofs which these letters furnish of his defection. Copies will also be sent to the governor of Connecticut, unless the Honorables the representatives of that State in Congress, who propose to make them the ground of judicial proceedings, should prefer taking copies to be examined and compared with the original by some person who could prove such examination, or to authenticate them in any other way which will insure their being received as evidence conformably to the practice of their courts.

I had proposed to mention them in my correspondence with the first magistrates of the respective States as affording proofs of the distant prospect of peace, and the necessity of relying only upon our own exertions to procure it; but am deterred from this measure by the weight which it might possibly give to Mr. Deane's ill-founded assertions.

I shall endeavor to conform to the views of the United States in any further directions with which they may please to honor me.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Hon. John Hanson.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., V. 117.

TO MR. HOLKER.

Ghent, Jan. 18th, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Hazlehurst will do himself the honor to wait on you with this. He is a countryman and, I believe, a townsman of yours. He goes to Rouen

to view the manufactures there, particularly those in which you are concerned; and confident that he will be every way agreeable to your free and honest way of thinking, I embrace the occasion to recommend him to your civilities, and have the honor to be, with compliments to your good lady, very respectfully,

Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Holker.

Thomas Mss.

TO EDWARD BANCROFT.

Ghent, Jan. 18th, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—I received yours of the 6th, and should have wrote you before this, but have had nothing of the least consequence to write. I am in a great measure recovered from my late indisposition, though, to tell you the truth, I made no use of yours nor any other prescription, except drinking plentifully of bran tea sweetened with honey, and confining myself to a warm chamber. I am not the less obliged to you, notwithstanding, and have laid by your recipe, which I am sure is a good one, for some future occasion. Mr. Hazlehurst will hand you this, and I wish I had time to improve so safe a conveyance in being particular on certain subjects; but Mr. Hazlehurst is in haste, and I have only time to tell you that I have finished, but not copied, a long letter to our friend at Passy. I shall improve the first safe conveyance to send it you, open, to be delivered or not as your judgment shall direct. I hope you will improve the first safe opportunity to tell me not only what is doing, but what is said, in which I am materially interested. I can only add my wishes for your happiness and that of yours.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Doctor Bancroft.

Thomas Mss.

TO MR. COCHRAN.

Ghent, Jan. 18th, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—I received your letter, and most sincerely wish it was in my power to assist you, as I know it would be rendering a reasonable service to your father, as well as to yourself, which I would take pleasure in doing, but really it is not in my power; and as it cannot be long before you must hear from your father, I must advise you to content yourself in your present situation, and to profit the most you can from it. You will undoubtedly have remittances early in the spring to settle your affairs. When you write to your father, present him my compliments.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Cochran.

Thomas Mss.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO JOHN JAY.

Passy, Jan. 19th, 1782.

* * * * *

Mr. Deane has written a very indiscreet and mischievous letter, which was interrupted (*sic*) and printed at New York, and since in the English papers. It must ruin him forever in America and here. I think we shall soon hear of his retiring to England and joining his friend Arnold.

* * * * *

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., V. 121.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON TO CÆSAR DE LA LUZERNE.

Office of Foreign Affairs, Jan. 19th, 1782.

SIR,—I do myself the honor to enclose two letters from Mr. Deane, which were delivered with his own

hand to a Mr. Marshall, who has sworn to their identity. These add so much weight to the suspicions already entertained against him that they may probably be of use to your court in justifying any measure which they may deem it proper to adopt to prevent the ill effects of the principles he endeavors to disseminate, and to invalidate the ill-founded assertions he makes.

I beg to be informed whether you think it probable that the Hermione has sailed yet, and, if not, whether you have any express going down to her.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Chevalier de la Luzerne.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., V. 122.

CÆSAR A. DE LA LUZERNE TO ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Philadelphia, Jan. 20th, 1782.

SIR,—I thank you for communicating to me Mr. Deane's two letters. I shall transmit them to my court.

* * * * *

I have the honor to be, &c.,

LUZERNE.

To Robert R. Livingston, Esq.,
Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., V. 122.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON TO JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

Philadelphia, Jan. 22d, 1782.

SIR,—I do myself the honor to enclose certified copies of two letters from Silas Deane, which serve in some measure to authenticate those that have been published in his name, and strongly mark such a change in his sentiments and principles as is worthy of

the attention of the State of which he is a citizen. The originals are lodged in this office, to which your excellency may at any time apply if such copies should be required as would amount to legal evidence. I have also enclosed a copy of an affidavit of Mr. Marshall, to prove the identity of the letters and his having received them from Silas Deane.

* * * * *

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

To Hon. Jonathan Trumbull,
Governor of Connecticut.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., V. 123.

THE INTERCEPTED LETTERS GENUINE.

Philadelphia, Jan. 23. Last week divers of the lengthy epistles of Mr. Silas Deane, variously directed, which had not passed thro' the hands of the enemy, were delivered unsealed to the president of Congress. They contain arguments, opinions, and advice exactly of the cast of those which predominate in the letters which were lately, as his in this paper, to some of which there are express reference in these last arrived. Those who had the opportunity of coming at the truth were already convinced that our publications were genuine; but the incident above mentioned removes all doubt on this subject. Indeed, the most incredulous must now admit the baseness of this quondam commissioner of the United States at the Court of Versailles. Whether the traitor had taken the money of George the third as early as his nefarious attack on Congress of December, 1778, the cause of so much discord and distraction in our public councils during the year 1779, or whether his prostitution is to be deemed coeval only with the visit which Mr. Walpole, agent for the English owners of lands in the Grenadas,

was last summer admitted to make at Paris, time only can determine. By the last accounts he was at Ostend, preparing to embark, without doubt, for London. There he and Arnold, faithful labourers in the same cause, will gratify the British Ministry with a faithful detail of all the services they have done them, but as Satan (in Milton), when he returned to hell from tempting the mother of mankind in Paradise, instead of gaining the applause he expected after the narration of his service, met with a general hiss, it is probable something like this will be their fate. Read the passage in "Paradise Lost," Book X., line 504.

"So having said, a while he stood, expecting
 Their universal shout and high applause
 To fill his ear; when, contrary, he hears
 On all sides, from innumerable tongues,
 A dismal universal hiss, the sound
 Of public scorn," &c.

The Freeman's Journal: or, The North-American Intelligencer, Phil., Jan. 23, 1782.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Philadelphia, Jan. 23d, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—An express just going to Chesapeake gives me an opportunity of sending by the Hermione a resolution passed yesterday. My letters by this conveyance are so lengthy, that they leave me nothing to add, unless it be that we have just received letters from Mr. Deane (copies are enclosed) which confirm the authenticity of those published in his name by Mr. Rivington, mentioned in my former letters. In one of those publications he expressly advises a return to the Government of Great Britain, and, as this could not be effected through Congress, that it should be done by committees, which the people should choose for that express purpose. These, of which I now send you copies, were delivered here by the person to whom

Mr. Deane gave them, so that there can be no doubt of their authenticity.

* * * * *

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

To the Hon. Benjamin Franklin.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., V. 125.

TO GURDON S. MUMFORD.

Ghent, Jan. 25th, 1782.

DEAR MUMFORD,—I have received no letter from you since yours informing me of your resolution to accept of the offer made by Mr. Williams; if you should be already set out on your journey, and this letter find you there, I pray you to present my compliments to Mr. Williams and his lady. I have delayed writing to him until I should know that you was with him. I have only to recommend to you to persevere in that œconomy, industry, and prudence to which you are disposed, and you cannot fail of being all that your indulgent parents and generous uncle can wish you to be. Let me hear from you as soon as you receive this, and be assured that my best wishes ever attend you.

I am yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. G. Mumford.

Thomas Mss.

TO EDWARD BANCROFT.

Ghent, Jan. 25th, 1782.

MY DEAR SIR,—I wrote you a few days since by Mr. Hazlehurst, and have since received two letters from America; but, as has frequently happened to me of late, they were so torn that any one could see

the contents. I find in them that Capt. Barry, who arrived in August, carried out a number of letters representing me as an enemy to America; so that it was not solely my letters which were intercepted that caused the cry against me in America. Men in the heat of civil factions and parties seldom give themselves time to reflect or reason on the most obvious circumstances which happen to contradict the prevailing jealousies and clamors of the time; otherways the publication of my letters in New York by the British, at a time when their affairs were almost desperate in America, and when the sentiments which I had expressed in them to my friends by being published could have no other effect than to injure me, and to do a prejudice even to my friends, would of itself prove that I was not regarded by the British as a friend and partizan of theirs; but I must submit for the present to the violence of the times, and wait until reason and reflection regain their lost empire in America. Until that time (God grant it may be neither a distant period, or arrive too late for our peace, liberty, and safety), I have no reason to expect justice to my character. I have no need to make any apology to you, who have known the sincerity of my attachment to the liberties of my country from the first. You have sufficient generosity in your nature and friendship for me not to condemn with severity imprudences of conduct which I do not pretend to justify; and however different your political sentiments may be from mine, you are too candid to become the less my friend on other accounts. This encourages me to continue our correspondence, in which I promise not to touch on politics. If any events come to my knowledge which may be either interesting or of amusement to you, I shall mention them in my letters, but without comment or reflection of my own on them. On these conditions I presume that our correspondance will not give offence to any one. I want two rings to my watch chain. They are not to be had in this country,

and I am obliged to send you a sample, and to trouble you with this trifling commission. I pray you to send them as soon as procured, inclosed in a letter. Let them be of the same size, but a degree more solid. Is Mumford gone to Nantes? I know not why I hear nothing from him. My compliments to Mr. Walpole and friends, and am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Doctor Bancroft.

Thomas Mss.

TO MR. VIOLETE.

Ghent, Jan. 29th, 1782.

SIR,—Mr. Vanoolden will inform you of our conversation at Bruges, and I propose an interview on the subject. My son sent a letter last evening to your care, for me, which I pray you to return to me, under cover by tomorrow's post, as soon as is possible. I am sorry that I could not have the pleasure of waiting on you at Bruges, but hope soon to do myself that honor at Courtray.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Violete.

Thomas Mss.

JEREMIAH WADSWORTH TO MAJOR DE BRENTANO.

Williamsburg, Jan. 29th, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—I feel very sensibly the pain it will give me to part with you. Friendship like ours, where interest has nothing to do with it, is valuable, and the idea of parting for ever is afflicting; but I flatter myself we shall meet in France. But in the interim be assured I shall miss no opportunity of writing to you

as you desire, and it will be the only consolation for your absence to hear often from you.

I herewith send you two letters to Mr. Deane, both unsealed, that you may, if you please, read them: the first from my friend, Major Tallmadge; the other from myself, in answer to his letters to us, published in Rivington's paper.*

For myself, I should have taken no notice of the letters (but at the request of some of my friends); and you will see I have not been very particular in my answer; but enough so to shew that my political creed and his are widely different. If he is the author of those letters, he has left France; if not, he will be there. Farewell, my dear friend. May everything you wish take place; and be assured, to hear of your happiness will be an addition to that of,

Dear Sir, your very humble servant,

J. WADSWORTH.

Mon. Brentano.

[Enclosures.]

1. Jeremiah Wadsworth to Silas Deane, dated Williamsburg, Nov. —, 1781. Printed in Vol. IV., 525.

2. Benjamin Tallmadge to Silas Deane, dated Wethersfield, Dec. 27th, 1781. Printed in Vol. IV., 557.

Jay Mss., N. Y. Historical Society.

TO PAUL WENTWORTH.

Ghent, Jan. 31st, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—I returned here the evening after you left this for Brussels. This was very unfortunate, and the more so as my son sent on your letter to Courtray, expecting it would meet me there, and its not returning until this day. I have been ignorant of your address, and of course unable to write. Pray inform

* See April, 1782, Major de Brentano's note to Franklin.

me by tomorrow's post if you stay any time at Brussels, and if it is possible for me to meet you, suppose at Alost. If it is, name the day and hour, and I will not fail of the appointment. One hour's conversation would be of some consequence, perhaps, to both of us. If you go on immediately for Amsterdam, send me your address. I propose going there myself, could I have any probable hopes of succeeding in what I have formerly hinted to you in my letters. I have now no hopes of obtaining justice from Congress but by force; and if I cannot succeed at Amsterdam, where they have effects equal to my demands on them, I know not how to save myself from the most disagreeable consequences. I must depend on your answer as soon as possible, and, hoping for an interview, I omit entering on any particulars, and am, Dear Sir, with esteem,

Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Wentworth.

Thomas Mss.

TO JOHN CHARLES DE BAY.

Ghent, Jan. 31st, 1782.

SIR,—The bill you sent me on Mr. Vanderstaters for 1054 livres has been duly paid, as he has probably informed you. This serves to cover a letter to Mr. Wentworth, who passed through Ghent whilst I was absent on a tour to Bruges. If Mr. Wentworth should have gone on his journey for Holland, I must pray you to forward the letter, and to inform me of his address at Amsterdam. He left a letter for me, in which he only gave me his address to you at Brussels, which obliges me to give you this trouble. I have the honor to be, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Charles De Bay.

Thomas Mss.

TO BARNABAS DEANE.

Ghent, Jan. 31st, 1782.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I this day received four letters from you ; they are dated the 10th, 15th, and 29th of Nov., and 10th of Dec. You tell me that you have received no letters from me since Dec., 1780. As I have since that time wrote near thirty to you, the greater part of which were sent by vessels which arrived safe, it is evident that the British government is not the only one that intercepts letters. I have already heard of the publications in New York, but not having seen them, I cannot say if they are genuine or not. This much is true, that, in the months of May and June last, I wrote to the persons you mention, and expressed my sentiments freely and without reserve in my letters. I can have no idea of its being criminal in a free citizen to disapprove of public men or of public measures, and to communicate to his friends the reasons for his disapprobation, and to recommend a change of a system which to him appears ruinous to his country ; yet I find that the exercise of a right essential to the very existence of liberty, is regarded in America as little short of high treason.

My letters have been communicated to the French Minister at Philadelphia ; copies have been sent to the Court of France ; and Congress, I am told, have applied to have me sent to America as a prisoner of state, to answer—for what ? For having, in confidential letters to my friends, pointed out to them the dangers to which the peace, liberty, and safety of our country were exposed by the continuance of an expensive and destructive war ; for having ventured to disapprove of the proceedings of Congress in some instances ; and to infer from the nature of civil government itself, from the uniform and unvarying experience of all past ages, and from what we have already seen and experienced ourselves, that in-

dependant sovereignty, in the hands of a democracy, was not the best possible constitution of government for a country like ours ; in a word, for having availed myself, in private letters, of a right never refused in free states, and but seldom in the most arbitrary, to subjects. Private letters have ever been regarded in the same light as private conversation, and to betray either, to be equally inconsistent with the rules of honor or decency. Public safety or the circumstances of war may, indeed, sometimes dispense with this, and even render it necessary ; but are the letters in question of that nature ? I know not what Rivington may have published, but I well know what I wrote. I have carefully examined the copies of my letters, and I find nothing in them but what every free subject has a right to say or write or publish in the most open manner to the world, without being liable to be censured, much less to be punished therefor. Had a subject of France said or written as much on the administration of that government, he could not, it is true, expect to be regarded with a favorable eye at Court, or to rise in the government ; but he would have little cause to fear punishment, absolute and despotic as that government is known to be. We set out but seven years since to establish in America greater freedom than ever was enjoyed in any part of the world, and are we already become subjected to a despotism hardly to be paralleled in Europe ? The conduct of Congress on this occasion justifies the severest stricture I have ventured to make on their government. I have said that to depend on France for money to pay our troops and to support our Ministers and Ambassadors, and thereby to involve America in an immense debt, and at the same time to invite a superior force of foreign mercenaries into our country, was to render us dependant on France, the little finger of whose despotism would be found heavier than the whole body of the British government, which we were contending against. I have

ventured to say that no people ever preserved their liberty and independance after becoming indebted to a foreign absolute monarchy, and introducing the armies of such monarch into their country. I need not repeat the assertion ; the present conduct of Congress exemplifies and supports it in the most striking manner. The Parliament of France, weak and insignificant as they are, are but seldom found to be so servilely devoted to the Court of Versailles as the Congress at Philadelphia have for some time past shewn themselves. France complains of the purchase and consumption of British manufactures in America, and Congress, adopting the stile of absolute monarchs, pass ordinances and decrees against the importation of them, though purchased in neutral ports, and for the seizing and confiscating them, even in neutral vessels, if found within three leagues of our coasts. In France the merchants go openly to London, purchase goods, and expose them publicly to sale in every street of Paris and Versailles ; and, to recommend their merchandize to the Court and city, they publicly advertise that their goods are English, just imported. Whence arises this difference of conduct ? If the prohibition of British manufactures in America, where on every account (politics only excepted) they are to be preferred to the manufactures of any other country, is good policy, it is doubly such in France, a manufacturing and rival country. The cause is very simple : France means not only to improve the present favorable moment for humbling her antient and hereditary enemy, but to reimburse herself for the expence of doing it, by a monopoly of our commerce, and by other advantages, resulting from our intire dependance on her ; she therefore regards the preference given by us to British manufactures with a jealous eye on her part, whilst Congress considers America so much indebted to France, that too much cannot be done or sacrificed to please her ; and in this disposition they voluntarily put their necks under a yoke not only

heavier than that which they have broken, but even heavier and more humiliating than that under which the subjects of France groan. A prohibition of the importation of British goods, whatever may be imagined or said to the contrary, must, in its effects, give France a monopoly in almost every article of real necessity or use in our country. Neither Holland, Germany, or any one of the northern states, manufacture sufficiently to supply their own demands; in Spain, Portugal, and in all the states south of France, manufactures are still in a less proportion to the consumption. When Congress passed these ordinances, were they ignorant of these circumstances? If that was the case, it justifies my assertion that that body is unequal to what it has undertaken; if this was done knowingly, it is a proof of our dependance on, and submission to, the Court of France, and that no sacrifice, except that of nominal independancy, is regarded as too great to be made before that shrine. I ventured to communicate my thoughts and apprehensions on this important subject to my friends; my letters were intercepted, but whether faithfully published, neither those who censure me, or myself, can at present ascertain; but supposing the publications to have been faithfully made from the originals, what ground is there for the present violence and outcry excited against me? Have I exceeded the bounds ever allowed to free citizens, in writing or speaking on political subjects? Have we, in our contest for liberty, forfeited the rights of private judgment and of freedom of speech? Have I asserted anything for fact which is not such? If I have done this, whether ignorantly or designedly, let me be contradicted and exposed. I have said that it was not friendship for us, or a regard for the liberties of mankind, which induced France to declare in favor of our independancy, but solely to improve the favorable moment for humbling an antient rival and enemy. Are there any in America still disposed to think otherways? If

there are, their ignorance and credulity merit the most sovereign pity. I have said that France was really surprized and precipitated into the treaty with us, by our unexpected resistance, and, in particular, by our success against General Burgoyne and his army, and the sensations which that event occasioned in England, as well as in France. I gave my reasons for this assertion. If my letters have been faithfully published, the public are able to judge if I reasoned justly or not. I have said that Spain at the time disapproved of the resolutions of the Court of France, as being precipitate, and of the treaty, as affording a dangerous example ; also, that Spain, though she, from her connections with France and resentments against England, had engaged in the war, yet that she had been from the first an enemy to our independance. Can any assertion be more fully supported by facts and circumstances previous, as well as subsequent, to the date of my letters than what this has been ? I said that, France excepted, no power in Europe was interested in our independance ; but several of them, and Spain in particular, were interested against it. I gave the reasons on which I founded this opinion, and unless Congress may be presumed to be more competent judges of the interests of the nations in Europe than their courts themselves, my reasons must be deemed good ; for at what an expence of money, as well as of national character, have we for a long time solicited Spain, Italy, Germany, Prussia, Holland, and Russia to no purpose !

The conduct of those courts sufficiently explains their opinion of their own interest, and fully justifies what I have advanced. I endeavored to undeceive my friends as to the power and resources of Great Britain, but I asserted nothing which was not known and acknowledged to be fact, even by the nations at war with her. The Congress in 1774 and in 1775 repeatedly declared, and that in the most solemn manner, that a repeal of the acts of Parliament regarding

America, which had been passed since the last war, would be satisfactory, and restore peace and harmony. Though I agreed to those resolves, yet I thought at the time, and I still think, they did not go far enough on our part, and the peace and reconciliation which I proposed in my letters was on terms infinitely more favorable to America—all claims of Parliament to legislation or taxation in America to be given up, and a free and equal commerce established for both countries. This is the substance of my proposals for an accommodation; and what, after expending the blood and treasure of our country, checking the increase of her population, corrupting the moral principles of the rising generation, throwing us far back in the progress of arts and useful science, and entailing on our posterity insupportable taxes—what more will our country gain had the proposals of the first and second Congress been complied with, and America placed in the state in which she was in 1763? Nothing, except the relief of Boston and the Massachusetts from the acts of Parliament, for shutting up the ports of Boston and altering their character, would have been gained. The Navigation Act, and other acts of Parliament, passed long before 1763, and which bore much harder on our commerce than any subsequent ones, would, and that by the unanimous consent of Congress, have remained in full force. In the Congress of 1775, after hostilities were commenced, and which, in my opinion, our affairs were, on the whole, in as good a state as at present, Doctor Franklin drew up proposals for an accommodation. They were presented to Congress by Col. R. H. Lee, who spoke warmly in favor of them, and was seconded by Mr. Sherman and others. It did not appear at the time that those proposals were disagreeable to the majority of Congress, but no question was put on them, it being the opinion of the house that, having already petitioned the Crown to take such measures for an accommodation and the restoration of peace as should be judged by his

Majesty most consistent with his dignity and the liberty of America, it would be premature to make any specific proposals whilst the success of the petition was unknown. From this consideration alone the motion was withdrawn.

As those proposals were never printed in America, I send you inclosed a copy of them. You will find in them not only that all ideas of independancy are disclaimed, but a promise to grant aid to the Crown in proportion to our ability, and to pay £100,000 sterling annually, for one hundred years to come, to Parliament, toward sinking the national debt, on condition of being restored to our former state of civil government, with the liberty of commerce with all the world. And if this should not be accepted, it was proposed that, to convince Great Britain that *we did not aim at independance or an abolition of the Navigation Act*, America should enter into a covenant with Great Britain (in such a manner as to render the agreement irrevocable), submit to the Navigation Act, and to all other acts of Parliament made, or to be made in future, for the regulating of our commerce.

Is it become treason in 1781 to recommend such terms of peace and accommodation as are infinitely preferable to those unanimously proposed by Congress in 1774, before the war began, and repeated in 1775, after the sword was drawn? The proposals drawn up by Doctor Franklin, and presented to Congress by Col. Lee, and seconded by Mr. Sherman, were less favorable to America than those agreed to by Congress in their petitions to the King, and can admit of no comparison with those which I ventured to recommend in confidential letters to my friends; yet those continue to be honorable men and patriots in America, whilst I am branded with every injurious epithet which the rage and violence of the times can invent. The assuming independent sovereignty in America and the treaties with France are the only material circumstances in which our situation differs

from what it was in 1775. We then had the war in our country, and had assumed the exercise of independent sovereignty by raising armies and levying monies for their support, though independance on Great Britain had not been formally declared. If the peace, liberty, and safety of America could have been at that time restored and secured by a grant of the terms unanimously proposed by Congress, or of those drawn up and recommended by Doctor Franklin, Col. Lee, and others, is it extravagant or absurd to presume at this time that the peace, liberty, and safety of America may be restored and rendered secure on terms every way more favorable? And was it criminal in me, being myself convinced, to communicate my sentiments to my friends in my correspondence with them? You tell me that my name is joined with Arnold's in public speeches and in the papers; that my enemies triumph and my friends suffer. I have no expectation that justice will be done either to my services or character until reason and dispassionate reflection succeed in place of the jealousies, fears, and resentments with which the present times are distracted. I have for almost three years solicited Congress for justice to my fortune and character; the first expended in their service, and the latter calumniated, if not by their immediate emissaries, by men in their employ, and countenanced by them. Congress pretended to suspect me of having embezzled or misapplied the money of the public. An examination and settlement of my accompts would settle this point with certainty. I therefore made an expensive voyage to Europe, on the assurances of Congress that my accompts, the only object in question, should be immediately audited and settled. After their pretending to doubt, at least, of my having faithfully managed their money or commercial transactions, and after having named an auditor to whom I had no objection, I had no suspicion of any future difficulty, nor was apprehensive for any event but that of my safe arrival in France. Judge, then, of my sur-

prize and disappointment when I found that the commission and orders of Congress to their auditor were so worded that he could not act. Notwithstanding what I had observed and experienced of the conduct of Congress, I had no suspicion that this was done with design. Mr. Johnson had already written to Congress on the subject, and I sent on letters by several vessels, praying that such commission and orders might be given to Mr. Johnson, or some other person, as would enable their auditor to examine and close my accompts, confident that so reasonable a request, and which if they really believed themselves my creditors they were interested to comply with, could not be refused. I put my accompts, with their vouchers, in order, for a settlement, and waited at Paris, in hopes that some orders on the subject would be received, until I found that my slender funds were so nearly exhausted that it was essential for me (even to live in anything of a decent stile) to leave Paris. I made a journey to Holland last summer, hoping to fix my son in some good compting house there, and having failed, had left him in this city, where I had already formed some acquaintance. From the revival of commerce in this country, I hoped to do something in that way, whilst, being within two days' journey of Paris, I could be ready at any time to attend the orders of Congress for auditing and settling my accompts. In November last I received a resolution of Congress, in answer to a letter which I had written, informing me that Congress, in the appointment of a Vice-Consul, had made provision for the settlement of my accompts, and, being at the same time informed of the arrival of Mr. Barclay, the Vice-Consul in France, I determined to return immediately to Paris to meet him; but as I had previously engaged to make a tour to Bruges and Ostend, I wrote Mr. Barclay that I would meet him as soon as possible after my return, which would be at the farthest in six or eight days. At Ostend I met with Mr. Barclay, who was on his

way to Amsterdam. When I spoke to him of the resolutions of Congress, he assured me that he had no instructions on the subject. I laid the resolution before him, on which, to convince me, he showed me his orders (and allowed me to copy them), in which not the least mention is made of my accompts. He even told me that, supposing a settlement with me would be one part of his instructions, he had applied for particular directions on the subject, and had received for answer that Congress did not mean that he should have anything to do in that affair. Inclosed you have the resolution of Congress, and I leave you to judge whether after such manoeuvres (I am not disposed to give them the name they merit) I can expect justice from the people at large, deceived and irritated by men capable of going such lengths. At the same time I received intelligence of the intercepting and publishing of my letters. I had now no interest which urged my return to Paris, and the prejudices entertained against me on account of my letters, though they would by no means have endangered my person, might render my residence there disagreeable on other accounts, as well as on that of the extra expence, now become of the utmost importance to me. These considerations, and these only, induced me to pass the winter here. As to the charge my having been privy to Arnold's treachery, it is too ridiculous and absurd to merit one moment's attention. My opinion of his conduct is the same at this time which it has ever been from my first hearing of his defection, and it is, that after those who, by their ingratitude and abuse towards him, pushed him on to those desperate measures have taken on themselves their full share of the guilt of his treachery, there will still remain enough to render him criminal in the eyes of honest men. But to return to the consideration of my crime. I have been found guilty (not, indeed, by the most honorable or honest mode of evidence) of thinking and of reasoning for myself; and to aggravate my

guilt it is discovered that I have in private letters to my friends communicated to them my thoughts and reasonings on the actual situation of the public affairs of America. I cannot be charged with the betraying of any public trust, for I had none committed to me. What, then, must be the chain of positions and arguments by which I have been condemned? They appear to me to be nearly the following: Every one who doubts whether independant sovereignty, in the hands of a democracy, is the best of all possible civil constitutions for America, is an enemy; the man who questions the sincerity and present disinterestedness of France in her treaties and declarations respecting America, is an enemy to both countries, to France as well as to America; he who does not believe that the Court of France entered into the treaties with America from full conviction of the truth of those principles advanced in the preamble to our Declaration of Independancy, and from a sincere desire to propagate and support those principles of the natural equality of men, of the inherent and unalienable rights of subjects to resist and to change the established government of their country whenever they judged it to be tyrannical and oppressive, is an enemy; and he who, claiming the rights of private judgment, ventures to censure any part of the proceedings of Congress, to entertain apprehensions of the designs of France, or to doubt whether the absolute and despotic King of France is the great and magnanimous defender of the rights of mankind, is not only an enemy, but a traitor to France and America; and if found in France, he ought to be sent to the Bastile and delivered over to the tortures of the rack; if in America, his estate to be confiscated and himself hanged. If this, as it appears to be, is part of the political creed of America at this time, the greatest of all the evils which I apprehended and predicted is already arrived, and a tyranny established which is unequalled in Europe, except in the inquisitions of Spain and Portugal.

Though from a repetition of injuries and calumnies, and an uninterrupted succession of misfortunes for four years past, I am become inured to them, and in a great degree callous under them, yet I am extremely sensible of whatever affects my friends, and the thought that they may suffer by any conduct of mine pains me exceedingly; but I cannot help reflecting that if the temper of the times and government in America is such as to proscribe and condemn the man who ventures to write the truth to his friends, their calamities and those of our country must already be too great to admit of any addition from anything which a poor persecuted exile can say or do; but it is suggested, and even asserted by many, that I am in the pay of the British government, and have been bribed by that Court to write those letters. On this point alone can there be any just ground to charge me with any, even the least degree, of criminality? I have asserted nothing in my letters which is not most notoriously true. If I have reasoned weakly or inconclusively, it is to be charged to the weakness of my intellect only, and is a misfortune, but by no means a crime; and it cannot be deemed criminal to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth to our friends, any more than in a court of justice. If I had been bribed to write the truth, this would not invalidate what I wrote, though it would justly reflect on me for having acted from mercenary and base motives; but who that knows or examines but for a moment my situation, and the circumstances which have attended me and my conduct for four years past, can give the least credit to such idle and abusive insinuations?

I have a just and well-authenticated demand on Congress for more than three hundred thousand livres; my fortune, therefore, is in their hands, and it cannot, therefore, be supposed that I could be engaged to endeavor the destruction of that body at a less sum than that which it owed me, and which it must (if in politi-

cal existence) one day pay me ; on the other hand, what inducement could a British Minister have to purchase me ? I had neither any public trust or employ, and was become too unpopular in America ever to expect any. I had been persecuted and, in effect, exiled by the intrigues of a prevailing party in Congress ; my last hopes rested on pecuniary justice from Congress. In such a situation, is it possible that any man of common reflection can conceive me to be a subject of importance to the British Ministry ? If I had had the forces or finances of my country or any important negotiation committed to my direction, the case would have been widely different ; but as ministers of state, any more than other men, give money without some object in view, equal at least to the advances made, the question recurs, what object could they have in view in advancing money to me ? On my part, if become insensible to the first of duties, to what I owed my country, I must be supposed to be proportionately the more attentive to my private interest, and not to have changed sides without securing at least an equivalent to what I had a right to from the party I quitted ; but my distressed situation at Paris, and at this moment, on account of money for my support, sufficiently proves that if I really sold myself to the British government, I forgot the most essential article in the bargain, and receiv'd nothing in exchange. I am at this moment indebted to Doctor Franklin and others at Paris for sums borrowed for my support, and, being unable to pay, am obliged to their kindness even for my personal liberty. If I obtain a settlement and payment of my accounts I shall be able to pay them, and have a sum sufficient for my support ; but, uncertain of that, I have undertaken some commercial adventures on a credit from this place, which have a promising appearance at present ; should they, like my other prospects for some time past, fail, I know of no resource which will remain to me. You see my situation ; I am not disposed to hide anything from you ; it is my interest, as well as my

disposition, not to do so. My son, though as prudent as I could even wish him to be, is of some expence to me, but that is of no consideration in comparison with the distress which I feel at not being able to provide for his future establishment in business. Mr. Sebor will go for America in the spring, and carry with him my accompts for me. I am undetermined at present as to what place I shall pass the summer in. I often apply to myself the concluding lines of Milton's *Paradise Lost* :

" The world was all before him, where to choose
His place of rest, and Providence his guide. "

You ask me for my opinion as to peace. I do not at present see any probability of it, though, from the general state of Europe, and particularly from that of the powers at war, I think that peace or a general war must soon take place. I hope and pray for the first, but my fears predominate. The Court of London still hold a high stile in speaking and acting, and the Ministers meet with no difficulty in raising the money wanted. The troops of Holland have been lately obliged by the Emperor to evacuate the towns which they garrisoned in this country as a barrier ; this alarms the States General. The spirit of commerce and of religious liberty is encouraged by the Emperor, and is reviving and advancing in this populous and rich country with surprizing rapidity. The Emperor has published an ordinance giving universal toleration of religion, and to admit all professions equally to public offices of honor or emolument. The effects of this wise and humane system are already visible, and the antient and rich cities in this country, which for near two centuries have languished and declined, have now the prospect of regaining their former commerce and importance. Dutch merchants, captains of vessells, and sailors are every day naturalized and made subjects of these States. I am become a subject of his imperial Majesty on account of the obstructions which must be

met with otherways in any affair of commerce. This city is immensely large, but the population is by no means in proportion. It is intersected by canals, on which vessels of twelve to fifteen feet of water may come into the midst of the city. The capital manufacture is that of linen, which is of the best quality for service, and to be had at a reasonable price. The people are industrious and œconomical, and, in general, in easy circumstances. A Flammand who possesses but four hundred florins income spends no more than 300 of it, and this proportion generally attended to by persons in every degree of fortune annually augments their capital. Provisions of every kind are to be had in plenty, and at a reasonable price; but the manufactures of every kind, lace and some sorts of linens excepted, are inferior to those of England.

This country is unquestionably the most fertile and the most populous of any in Europe, and commerce alone is wanting to render it the richest. They raise a considerable quantity of tobacco; it is of an inferior quality, and good Virginia will sell for more than one hundred livres of France per Ct., clear of charges. You surprize me by telling me the Assembly of Connecticut have ordered the merchants to render an account of the monies due from them to those unfortunate persons who were obliged to remain in New York, and to pay the ballances into the public treasury, and that they were obliged to give this in on oath, or be subject to pay such sum as the judges or court should award. This measure is really so extraordinary that, accustomed as I have been to extravagancies of every kind, I can but be astonished at this, which I could not have expected from so sedate and honest an Assembly as that of Connecticut.

The Assembly will not accept of Congress paper in payment of those ballances, though by their Tender Act they obliged the creditors to receive it equal to silver or gold from those to whom, at a moderate profit, they had credited their goods previous to the present

war. What injustice and what ruin must this bring on numbers of honest merchants ! My heart aches for Mr. Webb. I see nothing but inevitable bankruptcy and ruin before him. The money which he owes Charles McEvers is alone more than he can raise from the effects in his hands under the present situation of affairs in America.

This act of the Assembly of Connecticut is of itself sufficient to prove that those principles of moral honesty, equity, and justice which have ever been deemed sacred in all civilized nations are at this time publicly violated and rejected by us.

But I will quit the disagreeable subject, and return to what more immediately affects me. I have enjoyed but an indifferent state of health since my arrival in this country ; the state of public affairs in America, and of my own in particular, have lain heavy on me, and nothing but a consciousness of the rectitude of my intentions, and hopes for an alteration of public affairs, could have supported me to this time. I hope that you have already sold my household furniture at Wethersfield. You say that bills are at thirty-three per cent. discount. I wish you would remit to me in bills the amount of my moveables, and also of my house and lands in Wethersfield, if you can sell them for anything near their value, and this I leave to your judgment. Letters addressed to care of Mr. Grand, at Paris, will find me ; but if you write by the way of Holland, address to care of Mr. John Louis Catres, Merchant, at Gand. I have made no use of my cypher in this letter ; it would be to no purpose, except to have it detained by those who may intercept and open it, I wrote many letters to Col. Duer in cypher, and I hear that he makes a merit of having decyphered and sent copies of them to the French Minister. Such are the times into which we have fallen, that even men professing themselves gentlemen, patriots, and men of honor, publicly boast of actions which are at once treacherous and dishonorable in themselves, and which

tend to destroy all mutual good faith and confidence in society. I wrote you a letter inclosing a copy of Gov. Reed's account and an order for the ballance. I sent three duplicates by vessels which arrived safe at Philadelphia, but I find those letters met the fate of most of those which I have wrote since my leaving America. I can scarcely hope that this will meet with better fortune, yet I cannot forbear writing; it unburthens my mind, at least for a moment. I shall write to Mr. Webb. Make my compliments to Col. S. Webb and to all friends, whom I desire to see exceedingly in peace and safety. Pray inform me how Mr. Webb gets through that cruel affair with the State; though from the extraordinary things which I have been witness to for some years past, I can hardly be surprized at any thing; yet I confess that act of our Assembly appears in my view the most shockingly unjust of any one yet passed in America, and, I fear, must ruin most of the merchants in Connecticut. On what principle of justice, or by what law of nations, can our Assembly demand money which neither ever was their due or the property of their subjects? Mr. McEvers and others obliged to remain in New York never were subjects of Connecticut, or of any other of the States of America. No person can be guilty of treason against a State who never was a subject of it. But necessity, the tyrant's plea, serves, I find, to justify every measure; and the Jesuitical doctrine that the end justifies the means, never prevailed more fully in that execrable and dangerous order of men than it does at this time in America. I shall send you duplicates of this letter, the last which I mean to write you on politics, and, therefore, pray you to send a copy of it to our brother Simeon Deane in Virginia. The resolutions of Congress, ordering all British manufactures imported into America to be seized and confiscated, lays every one concerned in commerce to America under the greater embarrassments. It is impossible to make up a cargo to any advantage here, or

in Holland, or anywhere to the northward, without a large proportion of British goods; more than one-half the manufactures exposed to sale in Holland, for the consumption of the country, are British. A motion was made in the Assembly of the States General to prohibit the importation of British goods during the war, but they were told by their commissaries and contractors that neither their army or navy would be clothed if such a resolution was passed, and the motion was dropped, and their importation continues to be as great as ever; all the difference is, that they are obliged to receive their goods from England through this country, which is more expensive; but still, notwithstanding the additional charges, they prefer those manufactures to any other. Is it to be supposed that those wise and æconomical republicans are ignorant of their own interest, or that they betray their country for private advantage? Mr. Hopkins is at Amsterdam. He called on me as he went through this city, and will probably be here again in a few weeks. I will not add to this letter, already enormously long, only to wish you may never suffer in any degree like your unfortunate brother and friend,

S. DEANE.

B. Deane, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Ghent, Feb. 1st, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—Soon after my hearing of the arrival of Mr. Barclay in the character of Vice Consul from Congress, I received the inclosed resolution and order. I was at the time setting out for Ostend, or I should have returned immediately to Paris, confident that every obstacle to a settlement was at last removed. At Ostend I met Mr. Barclay, who, to my surprise, informed me that Congress had not given him any orders on the subject, but, presuming it would fall

within his department, he had mentioned it to several of the members, who told him that it was not the intention of Congress that he should do anything in the affair. Mr. Barclay shewed me his orders, which were dated the 5th of October, and I shewed him the resolution sent me the 12th of September; our surprise became mutual, but the disappointment fell wholly on me. On my return to this city I was informed that some letters from me to my friends in America had been intercepted, and the contents of them communicated to Congress and to Monsr. Luzerne, and that from some expressions in them, recommending peace and an accommodation with Great Britain, and pointing out the danger of putting ourselves absolutely in the power of a foreign and despotic monarchy, I had been judged to be an enemy to my country, and to have become a partizan of England; and that I had been represented in this light to the Court of France by Congress and by Monsr. Luzerne; and that these reports had made such an impression at Paris that you had been advised to dismiss Mumford from your service, simply on account of his connection with me. You cannot suppose that after my disappointment, and the receipt of this intelligence, I could wish to return to Paris; nor can you easily conceive how much I suffered on the occasion. I will not attempt to describe my feelings in a situation so very singular and distressing. I examined attentively the letters I had wrote to my friends in America since my arrival in France, and found that, although I had expressed myself freely on many points, I had advanced nothing as facts which could not be well supported; and that, in my observations and reasoning on facts and well known circumstances, I had kept within the bounds ever prescribed to free citizens. I had, indeed, before I left America, found the press there open only to the prevailing party; and that the man who ventured to publish his thoughts, if in opposition to the opinion of the day, exposed him-

self to the worst of inquisitions, that of being seized on, examined, and treated with the utmost indignity by an enraged mob. But I had no idea that private and confidential letters from one friend to another could ever be made the grounds of an accusation against an absent person, unheard in his defence, and especially against one who had rendered, by their own confession, important services to Congress, and to whom they remained indebted for his time and fortune expended in their service. But extraordinary as this is, it is not more so than that Congress should resolve, on the 12th of September, that they had given Mr. Barclay orders to settle my accompt; and afterwards, in their instructions to him, make no mention of it, but privately tell him that it was not intended that he should have anything to do in the affair. This could not be credited had they not given it under their hands, in their different resolves; and this, with their readiness to censure and condemn me for having, in confidential letters to my friends, given my opinion of the weakness and injustice of their administration, and of the fatal tendency of their measures, sufficiently justifies the severest of my strictures on their conduct. I find, on reviewing what I wrote, that I ventured to say that America, previous to her dispute with Great Britain, was the most free and happy country in the world; that the claims of Parliament to make laws binding on America in all cases whatever, and to tax the inhabitants without their consent, struck at the basis of the freedom and happiness of America, and justified the resistance made on our part; that when the alliance with France was compleated, America, relying on it to produce peace and establish independancy, and judging at the time that the peace, liberty, and safety would be best secured under a democracy, she could not do other than reject the offers of the Commissioners in 1778; but that could a peace and reconciliation be at this time effected on the conditions that Great Britain renounce all claims of legisla-

tion or taxation in America, and establish a free and equal commerce, America must be more free and happy under such circumstances than under a democracy, or perhaps under any other constitution of government hitherto known in the world. Permit me to observe that if it be treason to advance this, the first and second Congress greatly exceeded me in guilt, for, calling God to witness their sincerity, they solemnly declared that much less would satisfy their utmost wishes, and restore friendship and harmony between the two countries; and it must be remembered that their last declaration on this subject—in which you, as well as myself, joined—was made after the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill. It is true that the declaration of independancy, the confederation, and the alliance with France have altered our political circumstances; but can they have changed the nature of things? I have ventured to say that it was not from friendship to us, or from a regard for our liberties, that the Court of France was induced to afford us aid and to form an alliance with us, but from its being her interest to reduce the power of Great Britain; that it must be absurd to suppose that Court was become convinced of the truth of the doctrines advanced in our declaration of independancy, and by an alliance with America meant to subscribe to those *self-evident truths of the natural equality of men, of their inherent and unalienable rights, of the origin and sole object of all civil government, and to the rights of subjects to refuse allegiance or submission to a government as soon as they judge it to be oppressive*; that France had nothing in view but to humble an antient rival, and to obtain satisfaction for former losses or injuries; and that, whilst Europe remained in peace on the continent, and America could be made the theater of war, France could affect this at but a small expence to herself, though attended with irretrievable damage to America, as well as to Great Britain; that after the concessions offered by Great Britain there could remain no object with us for con-

tinuing the war, except independant sovereignty in the hands of a democracy ought to be preferred to our antient constitution of government, ascertained and extended by the above concessions, and ratified and secured by solemn compact with the King and Parliament of Great Britain. To determine this question I appealed to our own experience, and to the experience of mankind from the earliest ages to the present, and have ventured to say that in the long review there cannot be found a single instance of any nations enjoying peace, liberty, and safety under a democracy ; that whilst a democracy had existed in any nation it had ever been attended with violent feuds, parties, and civil disorders or wars, which (a democracy not having sufficient energy in its nature to suppress) soon produced general anarchy, the constant prelude to tyranny and despotism ; that neither France, Spain, or any other European power could, consistently with their principles of government and their conduct towards their own subjects at home or in their colonies, justify or support the principles of our revolution ; that although France had, in fact, been surprized, and, as it were, forced into an alliance with us by the unexpected news of our success against General Burgoyne's army, and from apprehensions that the dispute between America and Great Britain would be accommodated in consequence of that event ; yet that neither Spain or any other European power appeared disposed to follow the example. I have said that interest and ambition were the leading principles in all courts, and that the destruction of the British power had ever been the great object of the politics of France ; and that if it should be effected at this time, and under our present circumstances, America must become unconditionally dependant upon France ; for that the power of Great Britain once reduced, no other would remain to which America could apply to mediate or interpose should France dictate the severest terms to her ; and that it was scarcely possible, from the nature of absolute and vic-

torious power, that France should do otherways. I have given it as my opinion that no nation in Europe to the north of France can, from either political or commercial circumstances, be interested to promote the independancy of America, and that the political and commercial system and interests of Spain are in direct opposition to the establishment of a powerful confederacy of independant and increasing republics in the vicinage of her dependant and enslaved colonies, from which she draws all her wealth and resources ; that the large internal debt of France, and the increasing of the forces of France in America, are dangerous circumstances, and ought to alarm us, since, on a review of the history of nations, no instance is to be found of a people's having preserved their liberty and independance after involving themselves in debt to a foreign power, and inviting into their country a superior army to fight their battles, under the pay and orders of the same foreign power ; and that no instance of the kind was ever to be expected, since it was inconsistent with the very nature of absolute and victorious power. Being myself convinced, I endeavored to shew my friends that, by continuing of the war, our burthens, instead of being lightened, would be increased tenfold ; that our commerce must languish ; and the enormous load of taxes which the expences of the war only would lay on us, and that the sums annually requisite for the support and defence of independant sovereignty in its different departments, will vastly exceed our former expences whilst connected with Great Britain ; that our claims to a more free and extensive commerce having been some of the principal causes of our dispute with Great Britain, and the expectation of obtaining a free and unlimited navigation and commerce being at present counted on as our principal future resource for the payment of our debts and to enrich our country, the subject merits attention ; and if on examination it should evidently appear that our commerce, instead of becoming free and

universal under independancy, must, from the nature of our situation and produce, become more confined and burthened than it ever was in any former period, it must, from the consideration that agriculture (our other and capital resource) ever flourishes or languishes with commerce, afford a strong argument against our prosecuting the war. On examining this important question in the fullest and most extensive manner I was capable of, I became convinced of the affirmative of this question, and I gave at large, in a letter to Mr. Morris, the ground on which I had formed my judgment. I observed that France, though unable to supply America with the manufactures wanted, had already pretended in effect to a monopoly of our trade, and to impose on us harder terms, not only than those which Great Britain ever pretended to, but harder even than France imposed on her own subjects ; for that on complaining by Monsr. Luzerne of our purchase of British manufactures, though in neutral ports, Congress were induced to pass ordinances (as they are stiled) forbidding the same, under the severest penalties and forfeitures, whilst the subjects of France daily purchase and consume the same manufactures under the eye of government ; that this compliance of Congress with the requisitions of France shews us how dependant we are become ; and on the part of France, the complaint or requisition itself shews her intentions to monopolize or prescribe laws to our commerce which must eventually destroy it. In my letters I censured with a free and honest indignation the arbitrary and unjust proceedings of Congress in forcing their depreciated and depreciating paper on honest creditors, widows, and orphans in lieu of silver and gold, by which they ruined the defenceless part of the community, and by which they did everything in their power to destroy the principles of mutual confidence and common justice, and to pervert and corrupt the principles of the people. I censured with equal freedom their final violation of our national faith and

honor, solemnly pledged for the nominal value of their paper. I did not advise my countrymen to break or violate the treaties of Paris of Feb., 1778, having the liberty and happiness of America professedly for their sole object.

That America, who must be the sole judge of this, is convinced that her peace, liberty, and safety will be secured by putting an end to the war on the terms proposed; and if she becomes equally convinced that by continuing the war her peace, liberty, and safety will be rendered uncertain and precarious, and at best dependant on the will of a foreign and absolute monarch; that if in such case France should object to a peace, she, not America, would violate the spirit of the treaties; for that nothing can be more repugnant to common sense than to suppose that America intended to bind herself by those treaties to support a war against Great Britain at the hazard of all events and under every possible circumstance until France and her allies should be satisfied. These, Sir, are in general the heads or substance of my letters, which I addressed to my friends indiscriminately, in office and out, expecting that my sentiments would be freely examined within their respective circles, and not go farther unless approved of by them. I have now laid them before you without reserve or misrepresentation. I cast no reflection upon the French nation or government. I must have done the utmost violence to my own feelings to have hinted at anything that way; but at the same time I did not consider myself bound by the many civilities and services done me in that nation, from laying my sentiments on our situation before my countrymen, nor from urging them to examine for themselves, to weigh dispassionately the present and the past, and to look forward to what their situation must be at the close of the contest, close when it may. I cannot believe that you, who, whilst a subject of Great Britain, made use of as great or greater liberties in your political writings, can con-

demn me for what I have written to my friends in a private and confidential manner, under a government professedly established on principles still more free and liberal. Our opposition to the claims of Parliament, our declaration of independancy, and alliance with France were undertaken and executed to ascertain and secure our rights, not to abridge them; otherways we must have acted the part of dis-tempered or mad men, who, finding themselves uneasy in their present situation, exert their utmost force to change their position, without inquiring if the change will afford them ease or increase their sufferings. The English constitution has been the boast of our ancestors; they and we were happy under it; and when we found it encroached on and violated, and that we were in danger of being stripped of that invaluable inheritance, we took arms in defence of our rights confirmed by that constitution; not as champions either for despotism or anarchy. It would be absurd in men pretending to be free, to use no other freedom than that of choosing masters and of flying from one tyrant to another; nor can they pretend to the character of freemen, if they suffer themselves to be deprived of the right to examine public measures, and to approve of or condemn them in the most public manner. And has Congress censured and persecuted an American for having claimed and exercised this right? If my fears and apprehensions expressed in my letters are groundless, and my reasonings absurd and inconclusive, they must fall and dissappear of themselves, and all that can with justice be said of their author will affect his head, not his heart. I hope that to mention here what were your sentiments and those of our most distinguished patriots, under circumstances in my opinion every way as favorable to America as at present, will not be construed as a charge of inconsistency in you or them, than which nothing can be further from my intentions. But the satisfaction it gives me to find that the sentiments

contained in my letters are every way as favorable to American liberty as those formerly entertained and expressed by you and them. will not permit me to pass them over in silence. I have already mentioned the declaration of the first Congress, made at a time when no one seriously apprehended a war between the two countries: and the second declaration or petition, simply a repetition of the first, in regard to our claims made by the second Congress, after the commencement of hostilities. You must recollect that within a few days after the passing of the last petition, when General Washington had been appointed to the command of the army, which was then besieging Boston, and General Schuyler to the command of the forces designed against Canada, you, in a committee of which I had the honor to be one, drew up and prepared a report to Congress, containing proposals for an accommodation with Great Britain. The proposals were that America should pay one hundred thousand pounds sterling to Great Britain for one hundred years to come, provided that America should be placed in the same political state as before the dispute, with the privilege of a free commerce. And in case Great Britain should not accept of that, then, to convince her that we did not aim at independancy or an abolition of the Navigation Act (which the report says had never been our intention), that Great Britain should enjoy the rights challenged by the Navigation Act for one hundred years to come, and that the right should be acknowledged and ratified in such a manner by the American assemblies as to render it irrevocable but by mutual consent.

Though these proposals were not formally acceded to by any vote of Congress, they were not rejected, but pushed by without any question being put, by the multiplicity and confusion of the important business at that time on hand; but you must also remember that the report of these propositions,

when read in Congress, was supported and urged for by many of our most zealous patriots, particularly by Col. R. H. Lee and Mr. Sherman. After the declaration of independancy, and consequently when America was (excepting our alliance with France) in the same political state as at present, you, with the approbation of Congress, corresponded with Lord Howe, and by their order had an interview with him. The instructions of Lord Howe and his brother extending no farther than to the accepting of submission and the granting of pardons, the interviews, as might be naturally expected, produced nothing toward an accommodation, but the sentiments expressed in your correspondence must ever reflect honor on you in both countries, whether united or separate.

Though in your letter to Lord Howe, approved of by Congress, it is described as being an event most devoutly to be wished for, ever since that time the public mind in America has been too greatly irritated by the ravages and cruelties of civil war, and I may say, too, intoxicated with the ideas of independant sovereignty and empire over a country as large as Europe entire, to make, or to attend, to any propositions for peace and a reunion with Great Britain. From that time the independant sovereignty of America has been regarded as an indispensable preliminary to a negotiation for peace; but every one who compares the terms proposed by the first and second Congress, and those proposed by yourself in the committee referred to above, with those I have ventured to recommend in my letters to America, must acknowledge that the latter are infinitely the most favorable for our country. Whether independant sovereignty acquired at the expense of the blood and health of America, and placed in the hands of a democracy, with the inconveniences and dangers attending, and the immense charge of supporting it, is to be preferred to a reunion with the British Empire on the terms of

being governed by laws of our own making, of being subject to no taxes but such as are imposed by our assemblies, and of enjoying with the other subjects of the British Empire the privilege of a free and equal commerce, is a question on which men may reason and judge differently; but that men should censure, abuse, and persecute those whose sentiments differ from their own on this subject, is somewhat extraordinary in this enlightened and tolerant age. But, unhappily, that spirit of intolerance which in former ages was almost peculiar to religious controversies, has, in the course of the contest between Great Britain and America, been revived, and has raged with its antient virulence in politics; but I cannot believe that a person of your superior wisdom and candor will censure any one simply for his thinking differently from you on religious or political subjects. I have been told that my enemies in America have gone so far as to charge me with having long since made my peace with Great Britain, and that, after having amassed a large fortune by unjustifiable means in the service of my country, I have entered myself in the service of the British Ministry. So heavy a charge requires of me a brief history of my past and present situation. Having had the honor to be your colleague in a long and difficult negotiation, and, what I value still higher, to have my conduct approved of by you, I presume that you will not be impatient at the length of a letter from one who has been honored by your friendship and confidence, and wished to convince you that he has done nothing to merit a loss of them. The part which I took from the commencement of the contest is well known. You know how readily I undertook to procure supplies and to solicit foreign aid at a time when both were become indispensable, when the attempt was the most hazardous, and when few persons were more obnoxious to the British government. I was promised in the instructions and commissions given me by the Secret and Commercial


Committees of Congress (of both which you was a member at the time) forty thousand pounds sterling, to be advanced on my sailing, or immediately after my arrival in Europe, and a commission of 5 per cent. on the purchases I was ordered to make. On this I depended to indemnify me for what I must suffer in point of fortune during my absence.

My political conduct from the time of my arrival in France to my recall was well known at the time, and has met with your approbation; and not having been questioned even by those the most unfriendly to me, I need not say any thing on the subject. But on my commercial transactions I am forced to be the more particular, as the only charges insinuated against me are on that subject. Of the forty thousand pounds sterling promised me to begin the purchases with in Europe, I received between four and five thousand only, before I sailed, chiefly in bills of exchange on different houses in Europe, the greatest part of which were protested as soon as presented; and instead of being furnished with the funds promised, the subsequent remittances to Europe were scarcely adequate to my private expences. Though I had many embarrassments and difficulties to encounter in addition to that capital one, the want of funds, yet, fortunately for my country at that time, I succeeded in purchasing and shipping to America military stores and cloathing for the army to nearly the amount of five millions of livres (independant of those supplies purchased by the Commissioners jointly), for which Congress made no remittances until after my return to America. You can witness to the zeal and assiduity with which I labored to procure and forward supplies of every kind to our country, and to engage the Court of France to take a decided part in our favor. As soon as the treaties were signed, the great object of my commission and of my wishes being obtained, I had no desire to continue longer in public employ. My absence, and the depreciation of Continental money (though incon-

siderable at that time in comparison to what followed), had greatly damaged and prejudiced my private affairs in America. My attention to the procuring and sending out the stores wanted was such that I improved none of the many important occasions which at that time presented to better my private fortune. My desire to send out as great a quantity of stores as could possibly be obtained, and my confidence in the justice and equity of Congress was such that, although I had been promised forty thousand pounds sterling out of the first funds which Congress should have in Europe, toward paying for the stores I had been individually commissioned to purchase, yet I did not insist or urge for it; nor during the time the public monies were at my disposal did I take one shilling toward my commission, or receive but little more than one half the sum due me for my time and expenses. The execution of the treaties, therefore, gave me the greatest satisfaction on my private account, as well as on that of my country, as I now promised myself leisure to close all the accompts in which I had any concern for the public, and to attend to my private affairs, which I then had it in my power to put in the most certain train of success. Whilst I was preparing to enter on this, I received orders from Congress to return to America *to inform them of the state of affairs in Europe*. As the letters just sent before, by my brother, in the French frigate, contained all the intelligence which Congress requested, I could not have been justly blamed had I put off for some time my return. I had many inducements to have done so. I knew that there were violent parties in Congress; that my conduct had been misrepresented, and that I had reason to conclude that my enemies in that body had increased during my absence; and that a few months spent in calling in and closing the accompts of all the transactions I had been concerned in would enable me, on my return to America, to vindicate my conduct and to satisfy the public. These considerations convinced me that I

ought to delay my return until this could be effected. I mentioned them to you at the time ; but the critical circumstances which attended that period were urged by you and others for whose opinion I had the greatest deference, and I submitted ; but on my arrival in America I found that Congress were so far from being solicitous to know the state of affairs in Europe from me, that I could not even obtain an audience under six weeks attendance. I found, indeed, that I had many friends in that body, and have no doubt but that the majority of the members meant honestly ; but Congress had become so fluctuating a body that the majority were at that time changed almost every month, whilst a junto unfriendly to me, and become veterans in the intrigues and management of Congress, kept their seats. As no objection could be made with any tolerable appearance of success to my political conduct, my ready compliance with the order of recall sent me, which rendered it impossible for me to present Congress with an exact state of their accompts in Europe, was improved to embarrass and to ruin me. My enemies insinuated that I was a defaulter and dared not to produce my accompts. These insinuations from men who, notwithstanding the large sums promised me, had left me to make my way as I could in France, in the service of my country, without remittances or support from them, were particularly cruel, and the more so as I had, notwithstanding the various embarrassments I was involved in by the failure of the funds promised me, executed their large orders for stores, without which the war could not have been supported on the part of Congress. As soon as I was informed of this objection I petitioned to have some one appointed to examine and settle my accompts, and reasonable as this request must appear, I spent near fifteen months in soliciting for this, during which I sent to Congress near thirty letters and petitions, but received no answer—a treatment which few subjects ever received from the most absolute of despots.

I was finally informed by the secretary of Congress that Mr. Johnson was appointed auditor of the accompts of Congress in France. On my leaving France I had taken with me about twenty thousand livres value in goods, and on my arrival in America, relying on the faith of Congress, sold them for paper money; and this sum, though giving at the time a good advance, by the depreciation became barely sufficient for my expences whilst in America. On my application to Congress on the subject, they ordered me ten thousand paper dollars, a sum which they knew was not then equal in value to more than about seventy pounds in specie. I returned their grant in as decent a manner as I could, and, intent only on a settlement of my accompts and a vindication of my character, I prepared to return to France, relying on the sum I had left in Europe and the balance due to me from Congress to enable me to live in a state of decent independancy during the war, and to undertake something in the commercial way which might retrieve my losses; and, therefore, I took with me no more than a bare sufficiency for my expenses until I should arrive at Paris. At Nantes I applied to Mr. Johnson, who informed me that he had written to Congress that he could not act under the appointment sent him, and had assigned his reasons, but had received no answer to his letters. Being myself confident that Congress really desired a settlement, and, therefore, that orders for that purpose to Mr. Johnson or to some other person must soon arrive, I came on to Paris, where, on my arrival, I found that the funds I had left and had counted on had been misapplied, and that the circumstances of the agent to whom I had entrusted them had become such that I could expect no immediate relief. Confident, however, that Congress would not (knowing that I had made a voyage to France purposely to settle those accompts, which they had expressed so strong a desire to have closed) delay to appoint an auditor with full powers on the subject, I



waited untill my funds, small at first, became exhausted, and until I found myself involved in greater distress than I ever had experienced. I made no secret of my circumstances to my friends, and the money which I received from them was sufficient to relieve me and to support me for a time ; but early last summer I was obliged to Mr. Monthieu and to others of my friends at Paris for further assistance. I had ordered a balance due to me on an old affair in the West Indies, and on another in which I had taken an interest with Mr. Wharton and some others, to be remitted to me by the way of Amsterdam or London ; and, recovering a part of those sums, though no way equal to my demands, yet being sufficient to support me for some time in a retired, economical way of living, I determined to retire from Paris to some place where I could live at less expence than I could do there, and to wait for the appointment and arrival of an auditor of accompts from Congress. I had previously sent my son to this city, and having a prospect of doing something in commerce from this country with some gentlemen of my acquaintance in this city, I left Paris with a determination to return the moment that I should hear of the arrival of a person authorized to examine and pass or to certify my accompts ; and as I had wrote to Congress repeatedly in the most pressing manner on the subject, the news of the arrival of Mr. Barclay and the receipt of the resolution of Congress left me no doubt that the settlement which I had so long solicited would be effected, and the cause of my complaints and embarrassments removed. I have told you how cruelly I was disappointed, and I now find myself, after having been abused in America as a defaulter, finally refused a settlement, which alone can determine the truth or injustice of the charge, and left without funds in hand, even for my private support for any time, and unable to repay the sums which I took up of you and other of my friends at Paris, and reduced to the hard necessity of ordering my estate in America to be sold, to extricate me from

the complicated distress into which I have fallen. After this faithful history of my situation, can any one suspect me of having made my peace with the British government? Had I joined the opposition party I most certainly should not have remained in the circumstances in which I have been involved for near two years past; and had I engaged to assist in bringing on a reconciliation between America and Great Britain, I most certainly should not have retired to this place, where my situation, of itself, must prevent my doing anything towards it. It is true that I have for some time past wished for peace and a reconciliation with Great Britain, and I have, with the utmost candor, given you the reasons which inspired this wish; I also gave the same in those letters to my friends which have been intercepted, as well as in others which have arrived. If the discovery of my sentiments in my letters intercepted has made my peace with the British Ministry, or induced them to regard me in a favorable light, this has not been in consequence of any application on my part; but I must assure you, on my honor, that I have not the least knowledge, or even intimation, of such an event. If the British Parliament and Ministers are content to renounce forever all their unconstitutional claims, and, instead of haughtily insisting on unconditional submission, are willing to treat us as brethren, as friends and equals, I confess that I can see no further cause for contention with them, and that to continue the war to establish our independant sovereignty on the ruins of the British power, and by rendering, at the same time, that of France absolute and uncontrollable, appears to me to be, to the last degree, dangerous and absurd; and that a perseverance in the war, from motives of resentment and revenge alone, after the causes for its commencement have ceased to exist, must (however successful we may be for a time) prove eventually ruinous to our country, and can in no situation justify us in the sight of God or an impartial world.

I am sensible that the arguments which I have advanced, and my sentiments on the present and the probable future situation of our affairs, ought to be examined independant of any consideration or regard to my present or past circumstances ; by the candid and impartial I have no doubt but that they will. I have, therefore, wrote to you, not to apologize to you for the contents of my letters intercepted, but to tell you ingeniously what I did write, and to convince you, from the state of my past and present circumstances and situation, that I could not have been influenced by undue or corrupt motives. Having given you a faithful summary of the contents of my letters, the first part of my object in writing is answered ; and the other, no less important to me personally, I must leave with you. I have lost in the public service a fortune, which, though moderate, I can scarcely hope to regain. I have sacrificed my domestic ease and enjoyment, and have spent near seven years of the prime of my life in the immediate service of my country, and in soliciting Congress for a decision on my conduct and for a settlement of my accompts, and have finally been forced into exile, loaded with reproaches by those whom I have faithfully and successfully served. Though my losses are perhaps irretrievable, it is still a duty incumbent on me to vindicate my character from the injustice done it ; and since Congress have, by their last extraordinary proceeding, destroyed all hopes of justice from them by avoiding a settlement at the same time that they sent me a resolution promising one, I have nothing left me but to lay my case at large before the public. The former similarity of our political sentiments, and the harmony and friendship which subsisted between us during a long and difficult negotiation, and my desire to obviate any prejudices which you may have entertained on my account, induced me to lay before you, as briefly as the subject would admit of, the history of my past and present situation ; and I have only to add that I most sincerely congratulate you on having steered safely through those political quick-

sands and whirlpools which have proved so fatal to me, and wishing that you may long enjoy the same felicity in future, I am, with the most sincere respect and esteem, Dear Sir,

Your most Obedt. and very Hble. Servt.,

S. DEANE.

To Doctor Franklin.

Thomas Mss.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON TO JOHN JAY.

Philadelphia, Feb. 2d, 1782.

* * * * *

Enclosed you have copies of two original letters from Mr. Deane, in which he acknowledges others that Livingston has published, which speak a still more dangerous language. No doubt is entertained here of his apostacy, or of his endeavor to weaken the efforts of the United States, and to traduce the character of the people and their rulers, both in Europe and America. You will doubtless use every means in your power to destroy the ill effects which his calumnies may have had upon the minds of the people with you.

* * * * *

Your most obedient, humble servant,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

To Hon. John Jay.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., V. 146.

TO JOHN CHARLES DE BAY.

Gand, Feb. 4th, 1782.

SIR,—I did myself the honor to write you the 31st ulto., and to inclose a letter for Mr. Wentworth, who in-

formed me that he should leave his address with you ; not having been honored with any answer, I am afraid lest by some accident my letter may not have been received. You will oblige me much by informing me if you received my letter with the one inclosed for Mr. Wentworth ; if he is still at Brussels, or if gone on to Holland, that you will inform me of his address.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. J. Charles De Bay.

Thomas Mss.

TO PAUL WENTWORTH.

Gand, Feb. 4th, 1782.

SIR,—I was at Bruges when our friend went thro' this town for Brussels on his way to Holland, by which I was so unhappy as not to see him. He left me a letter, and informed me that he had left the small bill drawn by Mr. Sebor on Tisdale with you, but that you could not find him to present it. I this day received a letter in which he says that the bill had not been presented to him, but that he would pay it on sight. As I am convinced that he is a most villainous impostor, and as he has left effects here in my power to the amount of the bill, I am solicitous to have it presented, as on a refusal of payment Mr. Sebor can secure himself here, and I would, after having been deceived and imposed on by him, prevent, if possible, his escaping without paying the money lent him. He gives his address to be at Prince of Wales's Coffee House, Conduit Street, London, or at No. 35 Gerard Street, Soho. I am sorry to be obliged to trouble you in so trifling an affair, and if you should have anything of greater or less importance in which I can serve you hope that you will honor me with your commands. We are without news of any kind of the least impor-

tance; if I receive any during the absence of our friend I shall not fail to communicate it to you.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

S. DEANE.

P. S.—I have never been able to get a sight of the letters published by Rivington in New York, which have made such a noise in America; if you can send them to me by some private hand coming this way it will greatly oblige me.

Gov'r P. Wentworth.

Thomas Mss.

TO CHARLES TISDALE.

Ghent, Feb. 8th, 1782.

SIR,—I received yours of the 23d ulto, and a letter from the lady who went from hence under your care. Please to tell her that I saw her servant a few days since with one of the dogs which he challenges for wages (as he says) due to him. Inclosed is an exact list of all the articles delivered me this day by Champion; also his bill, paid by me. The bill drawn by you on Mr. Sebor is in the hands of Governor Wentworth, who complains that he cannot find you to present it, though I sent him your address. Williamson has not been in Europe for four years past. I know nothing of Mr. B. or of any other of the English in Ghent; of course can have heard nothing from them to your prejudice, but must inform you that a gentleman well acquainted with Mr. F. writes me that Mr. F. has not the least knowledge of you, and that Lord H. never saw you until after your return from hence, when you obtained an audience of his lordship by offering to give him some important intelligence. I will not give myself the trouble to write, nor you the pain to read, more on this disagreeable subject; the above is sufficient to convince you that I can have neither

commerce or correspondence with you until the above is explained. As soon as you shall have taken up the bill drawn by Mr. Sebor for money lent you, and sent to him or me the amount of Champon's bill, your effects, which I have ordered to be carefully packed up in a box, will be delivered to your order. Governor Wentworth lives at Hammersmith.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Champon's account to Dec. 7th amounts to...	108	2
On that day has given credit for.....	100	16
	<hr/>	
Balance.....	Livres 7	6
He afterwards charges for sundries.....	39	19
	<hr/>	
	Livres 47	5
The principal articles are Washing.....	4	7
6 bottles of Burgundy and a fowl.....	11	18
Lodging.....	7	2
For dinner, wine, &c., to amount of....	16	15
	<hr/>	

Livres 39 19 as above.

Champon says he has already sent you the particulars, therefore it is unnecessary for me to add to the postage of this by giving you the account of particulars at large. This account differs materially from your list; but as you made out yours from memory, and the articles appearing to be in the same situation as when you packed them up, I have no reason to suspect the honesty of the family, and must again urge you to free me from the trouble of them as soon as possible.

Mr. C. Tisdale.

Thomas Mss.

TO THOMAS BARCLAY.

Ghent, Feb. 8th, 1782.

SIR,—I wrote you the 10th ulto. and inclosed a state of my accompts, since which I am not favored with any

of yours, which a little surprizes me, and obliges me to request you to write me by the return of the post if you received my letter, and if you can venture to enter on the examination and settlement of my accompts, that I may order my affairs accordingly. Please also to inform me if the vessels bound for America have sailed, or if there are any opportunities for writing to America from Amsterdam; and as so great a proportion of the letters sent for America fail, you will greatly oblige me if you will send on repeatedly letters to Congress (that is, duplicates) on the subject of my accompts, which it is certainly for the honor of Congress to have examined and closed, especially after the resolution sent me which I shewd to you here.

I am yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Barclay.

Thomas Mss.

TO PAUL WENTWORTH.

Ghent, Feb. 8th, 1782.

SIR,—Mr. De Bay informs me that he has sent on to you my letter of the 31st ulto. As Mr. De Bay neglected to inform me until yesterday of your having gone on to Amsterdam, or of your address, I have, I fear, suffered by this loss of time, for by the tenor of yours of the 28th I had reason to conclude that you would make some stop at Brussels, and I wished, if anything can be done at Amsterdam with regard to the effects of Congress, to have been there before you left that city. I must therefore pray you to inquire, and to inform me if anything can be done in that way. If it is practicable, there is no time to be lost, as the effects of Congress will soon be shipped for America. Write me by the return of the post what time you propose to stay at Amsterdam, and what rout you take on

your return, and name, if in your power to do it, the time and the place where we may meet. We have no news of any kind.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

P. Wentworth, Esqr.

Thomas Mss.

TO MR. VIOLETTE.

Ghent, Feb. 8th, 1782.

SIR,—As we are still without any answer to Mr. Writz's letters on the subject of assurance, I have deferred the doing myself the honor of waiting on you at Courtray, and in the meantime have seen the gentlemen concerned in that house, who approve of the plan, and wait only for answers to Mr. Writz's letters to enter on the execution of it. If you are of the same opinion as when I had the honor of seeing you here, and disposed to take an interest, I pray you to inform me by a line. My reason for this request is that no time should be lost in entering on the expedition after being certain of insurance, and we shall be informed as to that in a few days. I present my compliments to your spouse; and shall do myself the honor of waiting on you as soon as I am informed of the answer to Mr. Writz's letter.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Monsr. Violette.

Thomas Mss.

TO EDWARD BANCROFT.

Ghent, Feb. 17th, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Wilkinson sets out early to-morrow morning, and I have but a moment to write in, and really nothing of importance. The last letter which I received from you was dated on the 30th

January, and my last to you was about the same date, but contained nothing of importance. I send you herewith a letter for Doctor Franklin, which I pray you to examine attentively, and then to seal and deliver, if you judge it best. If not, I will entirely submit to your judgment, as being on the spot you can judge best on the subject. I wrote you by Mr. Hazlehurst, and wish to hear from you on the state of American affairs, and to know what prospect we have of peace or vigorous and decisive war. Pray let me hear from W. F. again. I thank him for his last. I will not add, but am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Doctor Bancroft.

Thomas Mss.

TO THOMAS BARCLAY.

Ghent, Feb. 18th, 1782.

SIR,—I received yours of the 13th, and approve of your motives for delaying to answer me sooner. You tell me that you cannot enter on the examination of my accompts without instructions from Congress. Concerning the different articles of expences, salary, and commissions, I was convinced from the sight of your instructions, which you favored me with here, that you could not decide on it at all without fresh orders, and that it was the determined resolution of Congress that neither that accompt, nor any other in Europe on which they are in debt, should be closed and settled at present. It is now three years since Congress acknowledged themselves, by their public and most solemn acts, to be indebted to Monsr. De Beaumarchais in a very large sum. They did not pretend to ascertain it exactly, but they mention it as near £200,000 sterling. They remitted him bills to amount of 100,000, with a promise of interest on the whole until paid, and a letter of thanks, in which they tell him that he had, whilst serving his own country,

merited the gratitude and applause of a new world ; yet the settlement of that accompt, so ardently solicited by Mr. De Beaumarchais, and by the delay of which he has suffered so essentially, is still evaded. Congress in 1776 gave me positive orders to purchase on their credit the articles supplied by Mr. De Beaumarchais, and they promised me five per cent. commissions on the purchases I should make. I cannot, therefore, conceive what new orders they can give on that subject, unless that they will not fulfil their agreement, nor perform their promises voluntarily made and recorded by them. I have charged no salary until the date of my joint commission with Doctor Franklin, and the resolution of Congress is simple and plain that each commissioner should receive a salary of ten thousand livres and his expences. I have not charged any commissions on the many purchases made by me after my being put on a salary. The three charges, therefore, of commissions, salary, and expences, do not interfere, but are perfectly consistent with, the resolves of Congress. The idea that the stores furnished by De Beaumarchais were a present from the Court of France, was first started by Mr. Lee, and improved on by Mr. Payne ; but the Court of France and the Congress having at the time, in the most solemn and public manner, contradicted it, I cannot bring myself to believe it to be possible that Congress, after remitting £100,000 to Mr. De Beaumarchais, in part of his balance, and promising to pay the interest for the remainder, will adopt that groundless idea. I have not entered on this subject thus far with any hopes of prevailing on you to enter on the settlement of my accompts without express orders ; but to convince you that the nature of my charges is regular and consistent with the resolutions of Congress, and to remove any prejudices which you may have imbibed on that account. You kindly advise me to embark for America with my accompts and vouchers, or to transmit copies ; but, independant

of the risque and expence of this, there are other insuperable objections to this method. The settlement of Doctor Franklin's accompts, of that of Mr. De Beaumarchais, and of our bankers, never finally closed, are connected with, and dependant in a great measure on, the settlement of mine. Those gentlemen cannot go to America with their accompts. Besides, I am of opinion that the only proper place for settling an accoutment any ways complicated is the spot where the transactions were had; and, further, of what use would my accompts and vouchers be in America, where, on the first question as to their authenticity, the whole progress would be stopped? Congress agreed to have the settlement in Paris, and they appointed Mr. Johnson their auditor. On the faith of this I made an expensive voyage to Europe. Mr. Johnson refusing to act, my disappointment and loss were great. On repeated applications, Congress informed me officially that you were instructed to settle my accompts; but they forgot to insert any such clause in your orders. After this I can have no prospect of succeeding better in a voyage to America with copies or originals of accompts and vouchers unauthenticated; but as I wish to leave nothing on which I may be led hereafter to reflect on myself for with any uneasiness, and as it is of importance to the public in America, and much more so to me and to others concerned, I take the liberty to propose to meet you at Paris, and that you will go so far only in the affair as to examine the accompts with their vouchers, and to obtain the best information on the spot as to every article that may appear to you any way liable to dispute; and that you, without deciding on any one conclusively, will transmit the state of the whole, certified by you, to Congress, for their final determination. If this proposal appears reasonable and just in your view, you will please to inform me by return of the post.

I have, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Thomas Mss.

T. Barclay, Esqr.

TO EDWARD BANCROFT.

Ghent, Feb. 24th, 1782.

MY DEAR SIR,—My last was sent by Mr. Wilkinson, and you have before this time, doubtless, received it. I am, therefore, somewhat impatient to know your sentiments on its contents. You wrote me that European goods were so plenty at Philadelphia as to be sold for 2s. 6d., that currency for the livres first cost. Are you well informed on this subject? I am really interested to know, for several of my friends here propose sending out a quantity of goods by Mr. Sebor. But if that is actually the price, I cannot encourage them to do it, and it would hurt me extremely to have them suffer in their adventure to America, as it would be on my account that they undertook it. I must pray you to let me hear a little of what is passing. My compliments to W. F., and pray let me hear from him. We have nothing here that claims general attention but the reduction of religious orders and the razing all the fortifications in the country. The ground they stand on and the materials are selling off every day, and the estates of the reduced Ecclesiastics will probably be the next that will be set to sale. You may easily suppose this to be a very general subject of conversation, and will be surprized to be told that, in a country so very bigoted as this appears to be, very little is said against the measure. Pray tell me if Mr. Sayre is at Paris, and who of our countrymen are there. Pray answer this short letter by return of the post, and I will soon give you a long one, with a sketch of my plan for passing the spring and summer months, which probably will not be in this country, but much farther from you, as I propose going in the course of the summer as far as Sweden. Wherever I may wander during my exile I shall ever be most sincerely your friend and constant well-wisher.

S. DEANE.

Doctor Bancroft.

Thomas Mss.

TO MR. RIDDLE.

Ghent, Feb. 25th, 1782.

SIR,—I was unfortunately out of town when you did me the honor of calling at my lodgings, which obliges me to address you by letter on a subject in which you may possibly be of service to a friend of mine, and at the same time find your own account in it. I have been told that you have a vessel bound to Philadelphia or some other port of America, and he wants a passage, provided he can obtain at the same time freight for a certain quantity of goods on reasonable terms; the amount of the goods may be somewhere about £1000 sterling, and will not consist of coarse or bulky articles, but nearly in the proportion of tea as to bulk and value. You will much oblige me by informing me, pr. return of post, if you can afford him a passage and the above freight, and what are your terms; also nearly the time which he must be ready to embark. I have the honor to be, though personally unknown,

Your most Obedt. Servt.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Riddle.

Thomas Mss.

FROM THOMAS BARCLAY.

Amsterdam, Feb. 26th, 1782.

SIR,—I am favoured with your letter of the 18th instant, which I received the 24th, and in answer to the proposition you make of meeting you at Paris, I must inform you that the time of my staying here, as well as the delay that I shall make at Paris, when I get there, is extremely uncertain, and will depend intirely on the letters which I shall receive from Doctor Franklin. You may assure yourself

that this is the only objection I have to now making an engagement to meet you agreeable to your wishes; but perhaps it would be still more convenient for you to see me at Ghent, where I certainly will dedicate a day or two to the inspection of your accounts, if my time will permit, and I shall as certainly have no objection to inform Congress of what will appear clear to me.

I am ready and willing to do everything on my part, and I heartily wish an end of some kind or other was made of the affair. But if, as you say, "Congress are determined that neither that account nor any other in Europe on which they are indebted, shall be closed and settled at present," I fear no endeavours of either yours or mine will induce them to alter their determination. As soon as I can fix a time for being at Ghent, I shall advise you, and in the mean time conclude.

Sir, Your most Obedt. Servt.,

THOS. BARCLAY.

To Mr. Deane at Ghent.

Thomas Mss.

TO CHARLES TISDALE.

Ghent, March 3d, 1782.

SIR,—Yours of the 26th ulto. came to hand this day. Mine of the 8th, of the same, and which did not miscarry between this and London, acquainted you with the sum advanced to Champon on your account, and gave you the list of the articles received from him, and also informed you where you might find the person who held the bill drawn on you, who complains that he had inquired for you to no purpose, even at the place you directed. As that letter of mine must have come to your hands before this, I have nothing to add to it in this, except it be my request that you would by the return of the post, or by the

THE DEANE PAPERS.

repay the money lent and advanced for you, on
the effects will be delivered to your order ; other-
s, as I expect to leave this city in a few weeks, I
shall be under the necessity of putting of them into
other hands to be disposed of.

I am, Sir, Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

C. Tisdale, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Passy, March 4th, 1782.

* * * * *

You desire to know whether any intercepted letters of Mr. Deane have been published in Europe ? I have seen but one in the English papers—that to Mr. Wadsworth—and none in any of the French and Dutch papers ; but some may have been printed that have not fallen in my way. There is no doubt of their being all genuine. His conversation since his return from America has, as I have been informed, gone gradually more and more into that style, and at length come to an open vindication of Arnold's conduct ; and within these few days he has sent me a letter of twenty full pages, recapitulating those letters, and threatening to write and publish an account of the treatment he has received from Congress, &c. He resides at Ghent, is distressed both in mind and circumstances, raves and writes abundance, and I imagine it will end in his going over to join his friend Arnold in England. I had an exceeding good opinion of him when he acted with me, and I believe he was then sincere and hearty in our cause ; but he is changed, and his character ruined in his own country and in this, so that I see no other but England to which he can now retire. He says that we owe him about £12,000 sterling, and his great complaint is that we do not settle his accounts and pay him.

Mr. Johnson having declined the service, I proposed engaging Mr. Searle to undertake it, but Mr. Deane objected to him as being his enemy. In my opinion, he was for that reason even fitter for the service of Mr. Deane, since accounts are of a mathematical nature, and cannot be changed by an enemy, while that enemy's testimony that he had found them well supported by authentic vouchers would have weighed more than the same testimony from a friend.

With regard to negotiations for a peace, I see but little probability of their being entered upon seriously this year, unless the English minister had failed in raising his funds, which it is said he has secured, so that we must provide for another campaign, in which I hope God will continue to favor us and humble our cruel and haughty enemies—a circumstance which, whatever Mr. Deane may say to the contrary, will give pleasure to all Europe.

* * * * *

With great esteem, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Hon. Robert R. Livingston.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., V. 216.

TO PAUL WENTWORTH.

March 6th, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—I received yours of the 25th ulto. My letter of the 19th, which you say was opened, went under cover to Messrs. Hopes & Co., as you directed. I dare not set out for Holland, nor on a tour which I have engaged to make through the manufacturing towns in Flanders, least I should miss you on your return, which I would not do on any account. I must, therefore, request of you, at least, to inform me within six or seven days of the time. You will see in the

papers the resolution of the House of Commons on the subject of peace with America, which, I think, affords a good opening for something to be done, and the more so as I am convinced that the number in America desirous of such an event is at this time greater than at any former period since the declaration of independance. This makes me still more urgent to see you, for on the probability of that event I must take my engagements for the coming year. I must pray you to answer by the return of post; and if you are to be detained in Holland any time, I will postpone my other journey and set out immediately to see you, as well as to take care of some other business which I have in Holland.

I am, most respectfully, Dear Sir, Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.


P. Wentworth, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

TO THOMAS BARCLAY.

Ghent, March 6th, 1782.

SIR,—I received yours of the 26th ulto. Your proposal to pass a day or two here on your way to Paris is very agreeable to me, and the desire you express to do everything in your power towards terminating an affair on the issue of which my fortune and reputation so greatly depend, merits my thanks; but as I propose to make a tour through the manufacturing towns in Flanders, I must request of you to advise me as nearly as you can the day you will be here, that I may make my other engagements so as not to be absent at the time. You will see by the papers that the opposition in Parliament have at last obtained a majority and declared for peace with America. From the speech of Lord North against the motion, I think it evident that he was secretly willing it should be carried. A Ministry, under the



sanction of a majority, may with decency and safety venture on measures which it would be extremely inconsistent in them to propose after what has already passed. If I am right in conjecture, it affords us still greater hopes of peace, which, however successful we may chance to be in war, is, in my opinion, the greatest blessing we can pray for. I mean an honorable peace. No man is more against any other, whatever may be said to the contrary. I have the Honor to be, Sir,

Your most Obedt. & very humble Servt.,

S. DEANE.

Thomas Barclay, Esqr.

Thomas Mss.

TO FREDERICK GRAND.

Ghent, March 6th, 1782.

SIR,—I have drawn on you this day for £250, payable to the bearer, which I request of you to honor, and to oblige me by inclosing to me the state of my account. I have still one or two small balances against me at Paris, and therefore I wish to know if the money in your hands on my account is sufficient to discharge them or not. You will see by the resolutions of Parliament that the attention of the public (at least in England) is turned towards peace. I most devoutly wish and pray for it. I believe that no subject, either in France, England, or America, has greater reasons to pray for it, but my fears are equal to my hopes; and in the meantime the talk of peace has discouraged every one here from adventuring to America, and suspended for the present an enterprize which I had entered on here for that way.

I remain yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. F. Grand.

Thomas Mss.

THOMAS PAINE CHARGES DEANE WITH TREASON.

WHEN any necessity or occasion has pointed out the convenience of addressing the public, I have never made it a consideration whether the subject was popular or unpopular, but whether it was right or wrong ; for that which is right will become popular, and that which is wrong, though by mistake it may obtain the cry of fashion of the day, will soon lose the power of delusion, and sink into disesteem.

A remarkable instance of this has happened in the case of Silas Deane ; and I mention this circumstance with the greatest ease, because the poison of his hypocrisy spread over the whole country, and every man, almost without exception, thought me wrong in opposing him. The best friends I then had, except Mr. Laurens, stood at a distance, and this tribute, which is due to his constancy, I pay to him with respect, and that the readier, because he is not here to hear it. If it reaches him in his imprisonment it will afford him an agreeable reflection.

"As he rose like a rocket, he would fall like the stick," is a metaphor which I applied to Mr. Deane in the first piece which I published respecting him, and he has exactly fulfilled the description. The credit he so unjustly obtained from the public, he lost in almost as short time. The delusion perished as it fell, and he soon saw himself stripped of popular support. His more intimate acquaintances began to doubt and to desert him long before he left America, and at his departure he saw himself the object of general suspicion. When arrived in France, he endeavored to effect by treason what he had failed to accomplish by fraud. His plans, schemes, and projects, together with his expectations of being sent to Holland to negotiate a loan of money, had all miscarried. He then began traducing and accusing America of every crime which could injure her reputation : "That she was a ruined

country; that she only meant to make a tool of France, to get what money she could out of her, and then to leave her, and accommodate with Britain." Of all which, and much more, Colonel Laurens and myself, when in France, informed Dr. Franklin, who had not before heard of it. And to compleat the character of a traitor, he has by letters to this country since, some of which, in his own hand writing, are now in the possession of Congress, used every expression and argument in his power to injure the reputation of France, and to advise America to renounce her alliance, and surrender up her independence.* Thus, in France he abuses America, and in his letters to America he abuses France, and is endeavoring to create disunion between the two countries, by the same arts of double dealing by which he caused dissensions among the commissioners in Paris, and distractions in America. But his life has been fraud, and his character is that of plodding, plotting, cringing, mercenary, capable of any disguise that suited his purpose. His final detection has very happily cleared up those mistakes and removed those uneasinesses which his unprincipled conduct occasioned. Every one now sees him in the same light; for towards friends or enemies he acted with the same deception and injustice, and his name, like that of Arnold, ought now to be forgotten among us. As this is the first time I have mentioned him since my return from France, it is my intention it shall be the last.

* * * * *

COMMON SENSE.

* Mr. William Marshall of this city, formerly a pilot, who had been taken at sea and carried to England, and got from thence to France, brought over letters from Mr. Deane to America, one of which was directed to "Robert Morris, Esq." Mr. Morris sent it unopened to Congress, and advised Mr. Marshall to deliver the others there, which he did. The letters were of the same purport with those which have been already published under the signature of S. Deane, to which they had frequent reference.

The Freeman's Journal: or, The North-American Intelligencer, Phil., March 13, 1782.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Ghent, March 17th, 1782.

SIR,—I have written repeatedly to Congress, and to Mr. Morris, and enclosed my accounts; as I have not been honored with any answer, I fear either that my letters may have been intercepted, or that the multiplicity of business has prevented.

Mr. Barclay has been here some days; he has looked into my accounts with the public, and I have given him a copy of them, which he has promised me to send by the most safe conveyance, and does me the favor of enclosing this to you, which is simply to request that you would take, or procure to be taken, such measures as will bring on a final and decisive settlement of my accounts.

Mr. Barclay tells me that he has no orders on the subject, and that it lies in your department. I have, therefore, taken the liberty to address myself to you.

Mr. Barclay, after viewing my accounts, proposed that auditors or arbitrators should be named at Paris to audit and settle the accounts. I have not the least objection to this, nor shall I have any against any person or persons named by Congress, provided they are such as have a competent knowledge of accounts, and are impartial. I am willing either to nominate one part of them, or to leave the whole nomination to Dr. Franklin, as Congress shall prefer, or to submit my accounts to the determination of Mr. Barclay alone, provided that he be empowered to take the opinion of disinterested persons on the spot as to any dubious or uncertain articles, and to make a final close of the affair.

You will, by exerting your interest to bring this affair to a settlement, do, as I conceive, material service to the public, and certainly lay the utmost obligations on one who has the honor to be, with great respect and esteem, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

Hon. John Hanson.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., V. 245.

TO CHARLES TISDALE.

Ghent, March 17th, 1782.

SIR,—I received yours of the 8th, by which I find that my other letters were also come to hand, which renders it unnecessary for me to say anything more in this than that the bill drawn on you by Mr. Sebor was returned the day on which you wrote, the holder having for several weeks inquired for you at the places you directed, without being able to find you, or to know where he could address to you. Mr. Sebor, as well as myself, propose leaving this in about three weeks. I shall not think anything of the trouble I have already had in this trifling affair, if you will prevent any future by remitting the money due from you, and therewith an order to receive the articles in my hands, which hope you will do by the first courier.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

C. Tisdale, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

TO E. EDWARDS.

Ghent, March 17th, 1782.

SIR,—What I mentioned to you at Bruges is finally agreed on, and orders given to purchase a ship of about 150 tuns burthen. If they succeed in the purchase, she may be ready in the course of next month. If you are disposed to take an interest in the ship, you may have a sixteenth or an eighth at the original cost; or, if you are inclined rather to freight, you may have it as low as is customary. If the latter, it must be known in season nearly what value and bulk of goods you want freight for. The ship, arriving safe, will return immediately with a cargo of tobacco on account of the owners. You may depend on insurance at 20 per cent. for goods and fifteen on vessel. I explained to you the reason of this distinction. I rely you will not mention

it to any one, and on your answer to this by return of post.

I am, with esteem, &c.,

S. DEANE.

E. Edwards, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

TO THOMAS BARCLAY.

Ghent, March 22d, 1782.

SIR,—I have sent you my accompts, already laid before you, and explained in the detail as far as time and our situation could admit of. You, not judging your instructions sufficiently explicit to authorize your entering on an examination for final settlement, have been so kind as to promise to transmit them to Congress. I must pray you to acquaint that honorable body with my present situation and distress, occasioned by the delay of a settlement, so long solicited by me, and that I wish for nothing more than that my accompts may undergo the most strict but speedy examination, and that every article which may appear to be doubtful, or on which Congress, now (unhappily) become, as it were, a party in this affair, may differ in opinion with mine, may be examined and decided on by impartial and disinterested persons at Paris, the scene of the transactions; and that it is equal to me who they are, if they are persons of competent knowledge in such affairs, and impartial. I wish you an agreeable tour, and with sincere esteem am, Sir,

Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Hon. Thomas Barclay, Esq.,
Amsterdam.

Thomas Mss.

TO E. EDWARDS.

March 23d, 1782.

SIR,—I wrote you the 17th that I was concerned with gentlemen who had resolved to purchase a vessel

for the American trade, and to dispatch her in the course of next month from Ostend, and that, having agreed to take a part of the vessel, you might either take a share or freight on as reasonable terms as could be had anywhere. I am not favored with your answer, which leads me to suspect that either your letter, or mine to you, may have been mislaid. I shall be glad to know your mind on the subject, and wish that you would address your letter to me, either at the Hotel de My Lord Champons, or at Mr. Beneskins, Maitre Tappissier, Veld Street, Gand.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

E. Edwards, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO ROBERT MORRIS.

Passy, March 30th, 1782.

* * * * *

OUR former friend, Mr. Deane, has lost himself entirely, and he and his letters are universally condemned. He can not well return hither, and I think hardly to America. I see no place for him but England. He continues, however, to sit croaking at Ghent, chagrined, discontented, and dispirited. You will see by the enclosed what Mr. Barclay says of his accounts. Methinks it would be well to have them examined, and to give orders for the payment of what is found justly due him. Whether the commission he charges on the purchases made by Mr. Beaumarchais comes under that description, I can not say; the Congress will judge.

* * * * *

I am ever, with the sincerest esteem and respect, dear sir, yours, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Hon. Robert Morris.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., V. 279.

TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Ghent, March 30th, 1782.

SIR,—Mr. Barclay, who set out on his return to Holland last Monday, passed several days here in examining my accompts, and had his power from Congress authorized him, an end might have been made of my embarrassments and complaints on that subject. I gave him duplicates of them and every explanation which he desired. He promised to remit them to Congress, and to request particular orders on the subject. It was his opinion that the accompts might be easily and readily closed if Congress would authorize him or some other to do it, and that for the satisfaction of all parties, that in case any question or difference should arise on any of the charges on either side, that the same should be submitted to persons of known character for their knowledge and impartiality. I perfectly agreed with him on the subject, and wrote myself, at the same time, to Congress, praying of them to adopt that or any other measure equally just, for the decision of this affair; but as I am apprehensive that Congress may delay, from various causes, the coming to any resolution on the subject, and as you are interested in having all the accounts of our joint or separate transactions closed as speedily as may be, I have taken the liberty of requesting of you to write to Congress on the subject, and doubt not but your letter will have sufficient weight with them to bring this affair to a close in a just and equitable way. I am sensible of the multiplicity of important business on your hands, and therefore do not expect an answer to the long letter I sent you by Mr. Wilkinson, but hope you will honor me with a line acknowledging the receipt of this, and that if you judge any other method for adjusting those accounts preferable to that which I have proposed, you will be so kind as to point it out. The changes which have taken place within a few weeks past at London give me grounds to

hope that a peace is not so distant an object as what I lately feared it to be, and makes me more than ever anxious to close those affairs by which I have suffered so greatly, as soon as possible ; that on so happy an event I may not be left still to suffer by the embarrassments of past transactions unsettled, but free to repair, if possible, my losses, which is the only advantage I expect or wish for personally from peace.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Doctor Franklin.

TO EDWARD BANCROFT.

Ghent, April 8th, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you the 28th, of March, and to Doctor Franklin the 23d, but have no answer from either. You have seen the new arrangement in England. So far as any change there will tend to bring about a change from war to peace, we are interested from principles of humanity, as well as from those of a more personal nature. It is proposed, as a first overture to peace, to recall all Letters of Marque and orders for reprisals against Holland and America ; but I do not see how this can be done without a general truce, or peace which must comprehend an avowed or tacit acknowledgement of American independance, which, though for the true interest of Great Britain, yet I fear the Ministers are not fully sensible of it. You well know that I have no interest personally in Great Britain, and though you, with many of my friends, have suspected it, I have not even any correspondence there. If I am prejudiced in favor of that nation and its manners, my prejudices arise from my education, and not from the prospect of any present or future benefit or advantage from thence. It is hardly possible that sameness of language, manners, religion, and descended from the same ancestors, to whom from my earliest infancy I

was taught to look up to with reverence and respect, and always attached to the same civil constitution, should not leave lasting impressions on my mind. But the principle which for three years past has had the greatest weight on my mind has been a conviction that the safety and liberty of America depends on the preservation of a balance between the maritime powers in Europe, and that unlimited power on the ocean will be as dangerous to us in the hands of France as if placed in any other; and that if America is to remain for any time connected and any way subject to the control of any crown in Europe, that of Great Britain, under the restrictions to which it is constitutionally subject, is to be preferred. From a persuasion of this I wrote unfortunate letters, intercepted, and afterwards published with no other design than to prejudice my countrymen and friends in France against me; for, under the circumstances of affairs at the time, their publication could not serve any other; but I quit a subject which gives me pain, yet is ever present to my mind. I pray you to send the rings in your next, which you told me in your last were ready. I expect Mr. Sebor and my son will embark soon for America, by whom I shall write and send fresh duplicates of my account. I shall inform you in season. Pray write me one line, and let me hear how W. F. is at present,

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

E. Bancroft, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

TO EDWARD BANCROFT.

Ghent, 11th April, 1782.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received yours dated the 4th, Feb., but actually wrote the 4th, April, a small mistake, and pardonable in a philosopher. You tell me that [Franklin] had resolved to answer my long letter, but afterwards

declined it, lest he should be led into a controversy which he wished to avoid. I am sorry that either fear of what I wish to avoid as much as he or any man can do, or rather his indolence, which I rather believe to be the true cause, prevented him. I am not so vain as to suppose my letter unanswerable, and I know his ability too well to tempt him to enter the lists against me; I did not write my letter with any such intention. I was informed that the cry at Paris was loud against me, and that he joined in it. I, therefore, not having seen the letters in question, thought it my duty, considering my former connections, to inform him what I did actually write, and my reasons for the opinion I gave in my letters. I did not expect to alter his way of thinking or of acting; but I hoped, at least, to moderate his prejudices against me, and even to remove the grounds of some of them. The events of the last 7 or 8 months, whatever foresight some wise ones may boast of, were neither foreseen nor expected when I wrote. I did not venture to say they would not or could not possibly happen; on the contrary, I pointed out what must be the probable consequences, sooner or later, should similar events, so much wished for by America, take place. They have taken place, and time alone can demonstrate whether my conclusions were ill founded. We are now tacitly and implicitly declared independant by Great Britain. Shall we be permitted to lay down our arms, to regulate our new political constitution, and repair our losses by a free and general commerce, and by agriculture, work, and fruits of peace? If so, I congratulate my countrymen on the event; if not, I have still my fears; but I presume not to say which will be the case. I thank you for your friendly advice; the securities from Wharton and Trent ought to be put in the way of doing something with them as soon as possible, but I know not how to do it. A house here ordered some weeks since a ship to be purchased for the American commerce. I gave the invoices for a proper cargo, but the prospect of a cessation of arms

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with America has suspended every thing for the present. As to news from England, you have it as soon as I can send it, and through the same channels, the public papers. Make my compliments to Mr. Walpole, and be assured that I am in every circumstance most affectionately your friend,

S. DEANE.


Doctor Bancroft.

Thomas Mss.

TO EDWARD BANCROFT.

Ghent, April 14th, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—I am still without your promised letter, in which you promised me I should hear from our friend W. F. This will be delivered by my servant, who returns tomorrow in the diligence. I am preparing to leave this city. My son and Mr. Sebor will set out before me. Their destination is fixed for America ; mine must remain undetermined on until we see what the issue of the present pacific proposals may be. If such as I wish, I shall return to America in the course of the summer ; if, on the contrary, another campaign is inevitable, I shall pass my summer to the northward, and shall, as I have told you, go perhaps as far as Sweden. In either case I must repeat my request that you will give me a meeting for the settling, or, at least, that we may arrange our private accounts before the distance between us becomes still greater. You must be too sensible of the importance of this to need my urging it on you. Pray ask Doctor Franklin if he received my letter of the 24th, of last month. It was to urge him to use his influence with Congress to have means fallen on to settle not only mine, but his and all the public accounts, to the time of his taking on him the sole administration in France. I suspect that political reasons may prevent his corresponding with me on that subject ;



but I must take the liberty to say they are narrow and pitiful ones in this instance, as the whole is nearly an affair of accounts, in which men, however inimical on other subjects, ought to agree in doing each other justice.

We have had nothing from England since the 8th, and the wind has for two days been contrary, so that I can send you nothing new; and as you ordinarily have the papers (my sole vehicle of intelligence) almost as soon as we have them here, I cannot expect to give you anything that will be new to you from that quarter. Do not forget the little rings in your next, if not already sent on. You must have something from our country which I may be interested in or wish to know. Pray write me largely on the subject in your next. My compliments to W. F. and to all friends. I am, with the most sincere and unalterable friendship,

Your most Obedt. & very hble. Servt.,

S. DEANE.

Doctor Bancroft.

Thomas Mss.

TO THOMAS BARCLAY.

Ghent, April 20th, 1782.

SIR,—Nothing material has happened since I had the pleasure of seeing you here. Every event seems to point towards a peace with Holland, England, and America. If a separate peace is practicable, which, however, I doubt, but at the same time hope that these advances towards a separate peace made by Great Britain may bring on a general one, this the interest of our country, as well as the general principles of humanity, must induce us to wish for. I was this day told that insurance was to be had at Amsterdam at 10 per cent. for the West India Islands, under the Holland flag; if so, I presume it cannot be higher to the continent. Pray

inform me by return of the post at what rate insurance may be had to Boston or Philadelphia ; also if any vessels will sail soon for America, and if the price of freight is the same as formerly. I hope you have had the satisfaction of having the ships in which you are interested arrive before this, and to good markets.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

T. Barclay, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

TO CLIFFORD AND TYSETT.

Ghent, April 20th, 1782.

GENTLEMEN,—Mr. Tysett, junr., whom I had the pleasure of seeing at Paris soon after my return from Amsterdam, informed me that there was a small balance due to me from your house on account of an average of the sales of powder. I have expected to have the honor of waiting on you in Amsterdam before this, and therefore neglected to mention it. I shall now be obliged to you to inform me what the balance is, that I may draw, and settle that old affair. You will also oblige me much by giving me the price of insurance at this time in Amsterdam to the continent of North America, say to Boston or Philadelphia ; the vessel to be neutral property, and to sail from Ostend with ostensible papers for some neutral port in the West Indies, and at what rate if cleared out directly for Boston without anything ostensible. I wish it were in my power to return you equal service. I should not then have to apologize for the trouble I give you ; but whenever that shall happen, I hope to be honored with your commands, and in the mean time am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Messrs. Clifford & Tysett.

Thomas Mss.

TO LIEBART AND CO.

Ghent, April 28th, 1782.

GENTLEMEN,—I was yesterday informed that you have a ship bound to Philadelphia or Boston, which is to sail in a short time. A young gentleman of my acquaintance wants a passage, and to freight some goods to America, which is the cause of my doing myself the honor to write you at this time, and to ask you to inform me if he can have a passage on board your ship, and at what price he can freight a few tons of goods. He is perfectly acquainted with the American commerce, having been educated to that business; is a native of the country, and known to the best houses in it, and may be of service to your expedition, which I know he would rejoice to be. You will excuse the liberty I have taken, and oblige me with your commands, if there is anything in which I can serve you, either here or in America.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Messrs. Liebart & Co., Ostend.

Thomas Mss.

TO MR. WETZ.

Ghent, April 28th, 1782.

SIR,—I received a letter from Messrs. Clifford & Tysett, dated the 25th, in answer to mine to them on the subject of insurance, in which they inform me that a vessel and cargo from Ostend to Boston or Philadelphia may be insured at 10 per cent., sailing without double papers and under the imperial flag; that at the same time the vessels from Amsterdam which sail under the Dutch or American flag give 35 per cent. premium. If you are still inclined to make an expedition to America, I am of opinion that no time is to be lost. Orders are gone to America from the Court of London to suspend

all hostilities for the present. The present opportunity ought, therefore, to be embraced by those who mean to become interested in the American commerce, as the first arrivals must give much greater profit than those delayed for any time. Please to inform me if your sentiments agree with mine, and if you are resolved to proceed in the proposed expedition.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Wetz.

Thomas Mss.

MAJOR DE BRENTANO TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

[Paris, April, 1782.]

MR. BRENTANO, Aid to the General Baron Vioménil, does himself the honour to present his respectful compliments to Mr. Franklin, and wishes to know what is to be done with those two letters delivered to Mr. Brentano by Col. Wadsworth.*

Mr. Brentano returned the day before yesterday from Germany. He is to go back to the army in Virginia, and to embark at Rochefort. He should be very glad to wait on Mr. Franklin at such a time as would be agreeable to him.

Mrs. Bourse and her father desired Mr. Brentano to make their best compliments to Dr. Franklin.

Please to direct an answer, A. M. de Brentano, hotel de Londres, rue de Richelieu.

Jay Mss., New York Historical Society.

TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Ghent, May 13th, 1782.

SIR,—The letter which you did me the honor to write to me on the 19th ulto. did not come to hand until last

* See Jan. 29, 1782.

evening. I pray you to accept of my thanks for your attention to mine of the 30th, of March, and I can but flatter myself that Congress will be induced by your letters to take decisive measures on the subject of my accompts. As I did not expect an answer to my long political letter, I shall not make any observations on your short one further than to say that I am free to join with you in an appeal to time and experience to determine whether independant sovereignty in the hands of a democracy ought to be preferred by the United States to the British constitution freed from the innovations and corruptions which have in the course of time crept into it. After all the clamor raised on account of my intercepted letters, and the harsh epithets which have been so lavishly bestowed on me both in Europe and America, the whole rests on the above question, which it is possible that we may both of us live to see determined; and then, and not before, can it be said whether my resentments and passions got the better of my reason and judgment in the letters which I wrote, and which were in part intercepted by the enemy, and a part of them betrayed by persons in whom I had placed an unlimited, but I now find a mistaken, confidence. The present age is unquestionably the most enlightened of any of which the history has come to our knowledge, and it stands indebted to you for many of the most useful discoveries and improvements, and I have the satisfaction to find, from your writings and history, that however widely we may differ at present, yet for more than fifty years of your long and useful life your sentiments on civil government and on the true interests of America were no way materially different from those which I expressed in my letters. But it is immaterial at present to inquire what your or my political sentiments formerly were; the great object before us is to secure the peace, liberty, and safety of our country, in the best manner and on the most solid basis possible; and so far as either of us suffer our resentments and passions to get the better of our reason and judg-

ment on the important question, we shall justly become the subjects of public censure. You believe that the peace, liberty, and happiness of our country will be best secured and supported by a close alliance with France and the House of Bourbon, and under an independant democracy. I have the misfortune to think differently, and to believe that America, as she was formerly, the most happy and free country in the world whilst under the British constitution, though far from being then enjoyed in its purity, so that if now reunited to that parent state, under the same constitution, modified to local circumstances, and reformed of every abuse or defect complained of, our country would enjoy greater liberty, peace, and safety than can be hoped for under any other constitution whatever. A great part, perhaps the majority, of our countrymen are on your side the question, and time and experience alone can determine which of us is right; but, in the mean time, it is both cruel and unjust in us to treat each other as enemies on this account. You say that I am considered as having abandoned the cause of my country, and as having, with Arnold, espoused that of its enemies. I take these to be sentiments transmitted to you from America. I am confident that they cannot be yours, since it is well known that I have not betrayed any public trust, and that I have ever condemned the conduct of Arnold as freely as I from the first condemned that of those violent demagogues who improved every circumstance and accident of his life to push him into desperate measures.

My case, therefore, in every point of view, differs from his. I have neither correspondence or interests, or the prospects of any, in Great Britain. The small remains of my fortune, the most of my friends and family, and all my future hopes and prospects are in America. I have, therefore, every motive to make me wish for the liberty and happiness of my country, and I can with great sincerity declare that if America shall, on experiment, find herself happier and more free under

the present system than she ever was, or could expect to be, under the other, however modified and reformed, that I shall rejoice to find that I have judged erroneously, and that I have both written and spoken at least imprudently on this subject. I will not trespass farther on your time than to assure you that, however greatly your sentiments may have been changed, that I retain the same respect and esteem for you as when I had the honor to be numbered among your friends. I have the honor to be, with the greatest degree of both, Sir,

Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Hon. B. Franklin, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

BARNABAS DEANE TO COL. SAMUEL B. WEBB.

Wethersfield, May 14th, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—I duly received yours of 8th inst., and observe what you say in regard to writing each other. I have not the same excuse to make for myself which you have. The reasons of my not writing has been that I had nothing of consequence enough to take up your attention, or to fill the side of a letter, and I am a very poor hand to write, except on business. I have not the happy faculty of writing a long letter about nothing so as to be entertaining.

I am exceeding sorry to hear of the mutiny in camp, and that Sergeant Bunce is so deeply concerned in it. The wretched management of the publick in not fullfilling their promises and engagements to the army, is the cause of infinite mischief, and they are justly chargeable for the blood of those who suffer by their neglect. No country or people ought to be free that will not support the army that is fighting for their liberties. I am sick and disgusted at the conduct of our Assembly and the *honest* behaviour of Congress.

I can find no disposition in either of these bodies to

pay their just debts. Those who have served them most they treat the worst, and, indeed, they cheat all who have anything to do with them. I will not add on the disagreeable subject, for I should be branded as a tory, traitor, and every other odious epithet that can be expressed, which is the case where a man writes only truth, and his letters happen to be intercepted and get into the hands of one of our printers, who are such violent fellows that those who will not lie as bad as themselves, and swear that we are the most virtuous and best people in the world, pay our debts best, and can beat all the powers in Europe if we please; that our friendship is sought for all over the world, and every power in Europe wishes our friendship and to be in alliance with us; that our Congress is the most respectable power on earth, &c., &c.

Now, if a man happens to think different from the above, and believes the reverse, and should write his friend his sentiments freely, and it should be known, he is at once, without further enquiry, held up as the vilest traitor and villain on earth, which is the case with my brother Silas Deane.

I am determined, for my part, not to plague my head with politics; yet, at the same time, I cannot help speaking when I see such cursed management.

I have received a letter from my brother Silas Deane, dated in Ghent, October 21st. He wrote Governor Trumbull at the same time, and several others here. His letter to the Governor he desired might be read to the Assembly, and kept on their files as a proof for or against him in a future day when it will be made to appear whether he is acting the part of a faithful citizen in warning them of their danger, or the part of a traitor and enemy to his country.

Baron Steuben informs me that his friend writes him from Paris that Mr. Deane was lately there, and staid but three days in that city, and that he had the Emperor's protection, and staid at the house of his Ambassadors while in Paris. I was exceeding happy to find

that he was on his guard, and knew the danger he was in from his enemies.

Mrs. Barker and your sister Hetty set out for Norwich this day, in company with General Huntington and his lady. They have had a bad day of it, and I fear will not get through, as it's very rainy. I have no news but what you will hear before this reaches you. I was in hopes that the British Parliament would have put a stop to the war in this country this summer; but from the last accounts we have little reason to expect it.

I have wrote you a long, unconnected letter, which, I dare say, you will be tired on before you have half read it. However, it will serve to make my promise good, that I would write you, and, at the same time, give you the satisfaction in thinking that you are not often having such kind of stuff sent you.

I shall not subscribe my name for fear of accidents, as I have wrote freely. I am, my Dear Sir,

Your Friend and Humble Servt.,

[B. DEANE.]

Miss Duyckinck sends her love to you.

Endorsed: "Barna: Deane's letter, Wethersfield, 14th May, 1782."

Addressed: Col. Samuel B. Webb,
Connecticut Hutts
in the
Highlands.

Webb Papers, property of Mrs. Henry H. Oberly.

FROM JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

Hartford, May 15th, 1782.

SIR,—I duly received your letter dated at Ghent the 20th, [21st] of October last, by Captain Trowbridge,

and have paid that attention to your sentiments therein expressed, which their singularity appeared to me to merit.

At the time when you wrote, the decisive event of the last campaign in this country was not known to you. You was unacquainted with the noble part that France acted on that occasion, and you could not foresee that this blow would reduce the British Parliament to confess themselves unable to conduct a future offensive war in this country ; you could not see that the trifling and indecisive campaign in Europe was to be soon followed by the most important success in other quarters of the world ; that St. Eustatia, St. Martins, St. Kitts, Monsurat, Nevis, and Minorca were destined to crown the glories of Yorktown.

Great Britain is declining fast towards the evening of her glory. Yet I view her decline without feeling any fears of France and Spain. It should be the first article of every man's political creed, that no nation will ever assist another but with a view of advancing her own interest. I am sensible how important an object the humiliation of their ancient enemy is to France and Spain, and I would not that my country should have received their favors unless she could propose to them at the same time an adequate reward. I am sensible that France will ever have just demands upon our gratitude, and Heaven forbid we should ever so far forget the principles of virtue and honor as to withhold our acknowledgments ; yet France, if not too generous, is at least too politick to follow in those steps that led her rival to ruin. She knows our power too well not to dread our enmity ; she knows our rapidly encreasing importance too well not to wish to cement our present friendship by a series of noble and liberal actions. You observe that we shall be deeply in debt to her for monies actually borrowed, and supplies of different kinds, it is very true ; but shall we pay those debts with perfidy and ingratitude ? Shall we basely desert her ? Shall we unite with her enemies, and turn against her

the resources which we derive from her in the very war which she has undertaken for our service?

France has a body of troops in our country, very true, and they have served us faithfully and effectually; but I doubt extremely her having any idea of augmenting their number to thirty, or even twenty, thousand men. The debility of our enemy does not leave her a pretext for such an augmentation, even if she wished it, and I trust we have too much wisdom to admit the proposal, were one made, even in an hour of distress, to that purpose. As to the treaty which guarantees our independance, I do not suppose that it will exist longer than it shall mutually appear to be the interest of the parties that it should exist; and I rely with more confidence upon the good sense, bravery, and the virtue of my countrymen for the preservation of our liberties than upon any foreign aid. It is we, ourselves, who are interested in their preservation, and as long as we shall possess virtue to merit, so long we shall undoubtedly enjoy, the invaluable blessing; and whether Spain, Holland, or any other power upon earth formally acknowledge the independance of the United States of America or not, is in my politicks a matter of indifference. They are independant in fact, and the name is a bauble.

Sir Guy Carleton, who arrived a few days ago at New York, has made similar propositions for peace, in the name of the King of Great Britain, with those which you pointed out as attainable. You have painted the consequences of the continuance of the war; permit me to view the consequences of such a peace. The object of the treaty subsisting between France and America is declared to be the acknowledgment of the independance of the latter by Great Britain, and in a subsequent resolution of Congress it is declared that even this object being gained, neither party is at liberty to conclude a separate peace without the express consent of the other. In accepting the terms now proposed by the King of Great Britain "to his revolted Colonies in North America," we must, therefore, break thro' every obliga-

tion of the national honor to dissolve this treaty. If the offers were of independence, the words of the treaty might furnish us with a slender pretext for accepting it, tho' even then our own explanatory declaration would forbid the step. But should we basely stoop to return to the state in which we were in the year 1763, which is the proposal of the enemy, we have not even words to shelter us from the contempt of mankind, and surely nothing but madness can lead us to a breach of faith as consummately infamous as it is important. Yet let us suppose that America possesses fortitude sufficient to brave the insults of the world: in that moment the object of Great Britain is accomplished, the present war will soon be terminated, and she will then be at leisure to renew her oppressions in this country without a fear of the interposition of any other power. There is not a nation upon earth who would not exult in seeing a race of such perfidious, ungrateful, dastardly wretches oppressed, harrassed, and extirpated. France would for once forget her natural enmity to Great Britain, and rejoice heartily in our ruin. And let no one object to these ideas. The generosity of the British nation! This war has given us full experience of what we are to expect from their generosity. Grant that the continuance of the war for a few years will add considerably to the public debts and taxes; but tell me what ease we are to gain by a reunion with a people who are sinking under the pressure of their own debts, and whose necessities will unite with their resentments in the resolution to load us not only with our own, but a large share of their burthens? No; I will sooner consent to load myself, my constituents, my posterity, with a debt equal to the whole property of the country than consent to a measure so detestably infamous; and I doubt not but my countrymen in general will choose with me to preserve their liberties with the reputation and the consciousness of persevering virtue, even tho' poverty be the consequence.

That there have been injudicious expenditures of public monies, and that the same may happen again, is to be

expected in this country, as it has been evidenced in every other, for we are not perfect more than all those who have gone before us; but extravagance is not the predominant vice of republics, and we shall endeavor to guard against it.

That our public officers at home and abroad have in some instances deviated from their duty, and, while they have been expensive, proved also useless or unfaithful servants, cannot be denied; and yet we have seen as little corruption and treason as times of public convulsion have commonly exhibited. From the information which I have of the politicks of Europe, I apprehend nothing hostile at present from Russia. Letters from Petersburg of so late date as November last declare that the temper of that Court is not unfriendly to America; and Holland, if not our friend, will, at least, not be our enemy.

I shall lay your letter, together with this answer, before the General Assembly of the State; you will, therefore, regard their sentiments on the subject of peace not only as mine individually, but the general voice of the representatives of the people. They will afterwards remain on my public files, as you request.

I am, sir, &c.,

JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

Silas Deane, Esquire.

Jay Mss., New York Historical Society.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL TO R BERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Hartford, May 23d, 1782.

SIR,—I do myself the honor to enclose you copies of a letter which I received some time since from Mr. Deane. As he appears to be somewhat knowing in the counsels of Great Britain, I thought it not improper to return him an answer. You will find five copies of what I have written likewise enclosed; and it is my duty to

acquaint you that, upon being laid before the General Assembly of the State, this answer was approved by both houses *nemine contradicente*.

You will be pleased to lay both papers before Congress and the Minister of France, and you will judge of the propriety of sending a copy likewise to Dr. Franklin; or our other ministers in Europe.*

I beg leave also to recommend to your care for conveyance the letter covered for Mr. Deane, and am, sir, with the sincerest sentiments of esteem, &c.,

JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

Hon. Robert R. Livingston.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., V. 437.

TO EDWARD BANCROFT.

Ghent, May 17th, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—I am extremely impatient to hear from you, and therefore trouble you with this, in part to quicken your memory, and part to submit to your perusal the inclosed, which, if you think it will not offend one who when offended is not easily appeased, you will seal and forward. I know not how I can say less to him, and it appears to me but just that I should say something after his letter to me, in which, though he appears to excuse my letters on account of the treatment I have met with, yet thinks that my resentments and passions got the better of my judgment, and then tells me that I am coupled with Arnold, &c., to which I wish to reply in the most civil manner, and I submit to you the inclosed. I wrote you the 13th and sent you a line

*I enclose for your perusal a very extraordinary letter from Mr. Deane to Governor Trumbull, together with his reply, which was unanimously approved by the legislature of Connecticut. You will please return them after you have read, or, if you think proper, taken copies of them.—*Robert R. Livingston to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, June 7, 1782.*

I enclose a copy of a letter from Deane to Governor Trumbull, with his answer, which you will please to forward. A copy of the answer is also enclosed.—*Livingston to Franklin, June 23, 1782.*

inclosed from our friend W. F. Have you received it?
I have nothing to add, but that I am ever, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Dr. Bancroft.

Thomas Mss.

TO EDWARD BANCROFT.

Ghent, May 24th, 1782.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received yours of the 12th, only yesterday, and am sorry that your late prospects are changed. Mr. Laurens went through this town two days since on his way to Holland, as it is said, and I do not find that he has been there before. The little prospect of peace is extremely discouraging to me, and, hearing nothing from America, my spirits are really low, and the late news from the West Indies serves still more to depress them, as I fear it will serve to push still farther off that most desirable event. The present Ministers appear to me to have had their own personal reputation too much in view in their representations of the state of the nation in the House of Commons. I doubt not but it is bad, but they have painted it to be in such an exhausted, weak state, and exerted their eloquence so forcibly on the subject, that foreign nations believe it to be literally as they have described it, and therefore hold a high stile to any overtures for peace. This, indeed, induces me secretly to believe that the present Ministry are not in earnest for a peace; if they were, men of their abilities would not by their public harangues encourage their enemies to continue the war, or to dictate hard and, perhaps, dishonorable terms. On the other hand, is it not probable that their system is to propose peace, to convince Europe that the continuance of the war is not owing to them, and, by shewing the nation that their enemies insist on terms too hard and humiliating, induce the people to push the war with all their resources and vigor, and in proportion as the public are

convinced of the present distressed and exhausted state of the nation any future success will be the more to their honor? I hope our friend will soon receive the answer which he expects, and therefore shall wait some days before I take any resolution on the journey I proposed. I can get no answer from [Franklin], though he knows my anxiety to hear from him. The weather is here almost as cold as winter. I wish it may be better with you, and that your family may soon recover. Pray write me one line and let me hear from W. F. My compliments to Mr. Walpole, and be assured that I am most sincerely, Dear Sir,

Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Doctor Bancroft.

Thomas Mss.

TO CHARLES TISDALE.

Ghent, May 30th, 1782.

SIR,—I informed you, in a note of the 5th, inst., that your effects in my hands would not be delivered but on the payment of the money you owe me, and that I must, if you neglected to do it, take the legal measures for a sale of them. Having received no answer, I have ordered those effects to be appraised and put up for sale; and unless you discharge the debt against you, they must be sold, to your loss, I think. I am confident it will be to mine, on which account I wish you to redeem them, and shall therefore delay the sale until you have an opportunity to answer this, but will delay it no longer, nor trouble myself to write again on the subject, but rest contented to balance my account of loss and gain by placing the knowledge which my short acquaintance with you has given me against the pecuniary loss which I must sustain.

I am, Sir, Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Charles Tisdale.

† Thomas Mss.



THE DEANE PAPERS.

CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS TO ROBERT MORRIS

[Translation.]

Paris, June 3d, 1782.

* * * * *

IN the meantime, sir, I have the honor to address to you a faithful abstract of my accounts as they have been settled by Mr. Deane, with whom alone, on behalf of the general Congress, I treated. His misfortunes, the malice with which his character, naturally mild and uniform, has been aspersed, and the complaints which I have heard in this country against certain of his writings (of which I have not yet seen any) since the English papers made them public, have not changed the opinion I had formed of him; and I will always do him the justice to say that he is one of those men who have contributed most to the alliance of France with the United States. I will even add that his laudable endeavors in the most difficult times merited, perhaps, another recompense. I see there are intrigues *among Republicans as well as in the courts of kings*. This digression (which a compassionate feeling for a man worthy of a better lot forces from me in writing to you, to you, sir, who have loved him as I do), * * *

Your obedient servant,

CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

Hon. Robert Morris.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., V. 469.

TO JOHN CHARLES DE BAY.

[Ghent, June 6th, 1782.]

SIR,—I have found no opportunity for drawing on you since I had the honor of waiting on you at Brussels, and as I may most probably want the money in

your hands soon, I pray you to send me the balance due me in paper on some banker here, if the loss in exchange is not more than $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.; but if it be more I shall prefer to send for the money by the diligence. I wait your answer, and have the honor to be, &c.,

S. DEANE.

P. S.—If the exchange is more than $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. in paper I shall prefer to have the money sent by the diligence, if it can come safe that way.

Monsr. De Bay.

Thomas Mss.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON TO JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

Office of Foreign Affairs, June 12th, 1782.

SIR,—I was honored with your letter of the 23d, of May, with both the enclosures, which I laid before Congress, and furnished copies to the Minister of France. The spirit in which your answer to Mr. Deane's letter is written is such as must bring him to some sense of the disgraceful and contemptible part he is acting, and awake in him that remorse which is the severest punishment of guilt. I shall avail myself of the permission you give me to transmit it to Dr. Franklin, since I see that important advantages may result from declaring to Europe your sense, and that of so reputable a body as the legislature of Connecticut, upon the important points it discusses.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Hon. Jonathan Trumbull.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., V. 488.

TO JOHN CHARLES DE BAY.

Ghent, July 1st, 1782.

SIR,—I received the bills indorsed by you on Mr. Vandurloop, for 6738 8 9 florins, which was duly

honored, and the balance of the accompts you sent me by the hand of your son. I expect in a few days to do myself the honor of waiting on you at Brussels, and in the meantime have the honor to be, with much esteem, Sir, yours. &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. John Charles De Bay.

Thomas Mss.

TO JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

Ghent, November 1st, 1782.

SIR,—Your letter of the 15th, of May last, in answer to mine of the 21st, of October, came to my hands but a few days since. You say that my sentiments appeared to be so very singular as to merit your attention. Permit me to say that yours appeared no less singular to me. Nor can I account for many of the expressions contained in your letter, but by presuming that mine must have undergone some material alterations in the hands of those who took the liberty of opening and of copying it before they permitted it to be sent on. I am the more induced to think that this must have been the case, as several of my letters have suffered in the same manner in Philadelphia, and still the more so, as the substance of yours is in reply to positions and principles which I never either entertained or expressed in my letter to you, or in my letters to any of my correspondents, nor even in conversation with my most intimate friends. I know not, indeed, what Rivington may have published, but I know to my cost that he is not the only printer on the continent who is always ready to publish any thing which will serve his own or the purposes of his party; but such have been the retirement and obscurity in which I have lived for the last twelve months that I have seen none of his publications, except that of my letter to Col. Wadsworth. It is true that at the time when I wrote to you I did

not foresee the events of the last campaign—" *St. Eustatia, St. Martins, St. Kitts, Montserrat, Nevis, & Minorca were destined to crown the Glories of York Town*"—and it is equally true that I did not foresee, or pretend to predict, the contrary. And I presume that when you wrote you did not foresee many events which have since happened, and that neither of us can foresee at this time the events destined to cloud or brighten the prospect before us. The events of all human enterprises are uncertain, and none more so than those of war. I never was a disciple of those who assert that the end justifies the means ; nor liable as I know myself to be borne down and carried away by the current of popular opinion) did I ever, or do I at this time, think that events are the infallible proofs of the wisdom or folly of the measures or means previously taken, though generally they assist us in forming our judgment.

In 1775 I was led to believe that Great Britain could not support a war for any time against America alone, but the experience of six years, in three of which France and Spain had been engaged with us against Great Britain, have convinced me of my mistake, and that I had been at first too sanguine ; but this conviction by no means carried me so far to the opposite extreme as to suppose that Great Britain alone would still support the war against four confederated powers, without loss. I was so far from this, that in all my letters I endeavoured to point out what our situation actually was at the time ; the advantages to be taken from it for securing of our peace, liberty, and safety in future ; and the uncertain and precarious situation in which we must find ourselves at the close of the war, which ever of the great principals in the contest should be able to dictate the terms of peace. Permit me to acknowledge here that the disappointment of my first expectations when the contest was only between Great Britain and America, and of my subsequent hopes when it became more general, affected me in the most sensible manner ;

and that the review of measures and of plans, and a reflection on the leading principles on which they had been founded, with the knowledge which I then had of the actual situation of our affairs and of the apparent designs of those engaged with us in the war, excited in me, perhaps, too gloomy presages as to the event. Nor is it improbable that my private losses, and the ingratitude and injustice which I had met with, too forcibly affected a mind, unfortunately for me, not gay and volatile, but rather serious and gloomy ; and that, at the time when I wrote, not having those brilliant glories enumerated in your letter before me, I viewed things through a dark and discoloured medium, which often magnifies shadows and annihilates realities. I am conscious that I was too greatly affected by those circumstances at the time, and I hope they will apologize for me with you, and with every person of candor. I agree with you that "it should be the first article of every man's political creed that no nation will ever assist another but with a view of advancing her own interest." And I presume that you will allow that for France and Spain to humble a nation which has long been not only their rival, but their superior, in arts and in arms, and which has been, and still is, the only nation in Europe able to oppose and defeat their ambitious and despotic views, is the most important object ever aimed at by them ; but as you must also allow that, without our taking an extraordinary share of the war on us, they are notable to effect this. I cannot see on what principles "France or Spain (if this object should be finally obtained) will have just demands on our gratitude." Though we are heretics, and excluded from the Catholic Church, most surely we are not from believing and acting on the first general and catholic article of your political creed ; and, therefore, I can see no ground for the heavy charges of ingratitude, baseness, or of injustice should we refuse to continue the war and resolve on peace and reconciliation with Great Britain, from a con-

viction that a continuance of the war will serve only to promote the interest and satisfy the ambition of France and Spain ; and that, on the other hand, peace and reconciliation with Great Britain will most essentially promote the interest of our country, and secure our liberty and happiness.

The high stile adopted in France on the subject of our obligations to her, and the warmth, and even enthusiasm, of expression with which they are constantly acknowledged by us, have, indeed, given me apprehensions for the consequences ; but I never, either in my letter to you, or in conversation, advised my countrymen to be unjust or ungrateful, or to violate the public faith ; nor did I ever so much as hint at returning to the state in which we were in 1763. I am, therefore, wholly unable to account for your expressions on these subjects in your letters, written expressly in answer to mine, but on the supposition that my letter must have undergone material alterations before it came to your hands. I never entertained but one opinion of the violation of our public faith, respecting the redemption of our paper, and at all times spoke of it as being an act the most unjust and dishonorable in its nature, and of the most pernicious and fatal tendency ; and I have, perhaps, been too severe in censuring those who promoted, as well as those who took advantage of, that breach of public faith. I have ever been so far from proposing to return to the state in which we were in 1763, that though in the first Congress I acquiesced in that Resolution, yet I was, even then, by no means satisfied with it, but regarded it as an act of complaisance to the resolutions of the Convention or Assembly of Virginia, and a necessary sacrifice to unanimity. Since we agree in the first great article of our political creed, you must permit me to examine in what ones, or how many, we differ ; and I flatter myself that on the examination it will appear that there is but one, though that, indeed, is a most important one, in which we do not agree. When the Parliament of Great Britain

claimed the right to make laws binding on America in all cases whatever, and attempted to exercise that right, it was our interest to oppose a claim so dangerous in itself and in its consequences. In that situation resistance became a duty which we could not dispense with without incurring the guilt of treason to our country. When we found that the Parliament refused to recede from this claim, and that the contest by arms was too unequal, it became our interest to seek for foreign aid, and we naturally applied to the power the most interested to grant it. France wisely took time, on our application, to compare and balance the different and opposite interests which then presented. To embarrass Great Britain, and to humble or reduce her power, was a most important object; and to assist and support America in her contest with Great Britain was the most certain, as well as cheap, means to obtain it; but to assist us was, implicitly at least, to avow and justify the principles of our opposition to, and separation from, the British Government—principles which in their nature could not be regarded as partial or local, but equally applicable to every country, and equally just in every nation, and which must at once reproach and strike at the very foundations of the government of France. It was the interest of the Court of France to do nothing which might even tacitly tend to condemn its own principles of government and its uniform maxims and practice. The ministers of France, therefore, necessarily found themselves in a most delicate situation, and they spent almost two years in attending to the progress of the dispute, or war, and in balancing the different interests of their own government. At last unforeseen and unexpected events obliged them to take a decided and open part. The same events brought the British government to reflect that it was most for the interest of the nation to recede from the former claim, and to attempt to settle and accommodate the dispute in an amicable manner by commissioners, in the way of treaty. When Congress applied to

the Court of France for aid, when they proposed a Treaty of Amity and Commerce with France, and when their Commissioners signed the Treaty of Paris, the interest of America was the object with them ; it was equally such with Congress when they ratified the treaty with France, and refused to treat with the British Commissioners in 1778.

Thus, agreeable to the first article of your political creed, interest has been the first and sole cause of every transaction ; but can you or any one suppose that, with this great principle in view, Congress in drawing up and agreeing to the articles of the Treaty of Paris, or that the Commissioners in adjusting and signing them, and the Congress in afterwards ratifying them with the additional clause mentioned in your letter, meant to bind America to prosecute the war, at all events, until France and her allies should be satisfied, and consent to a peace ?

It is somewhat remarkable that at the time of the signing of the treaties between France and America France did not so much as pretend to have any cause of complaint, or for hostility against Great Britain. Fifteen years had passed since the Treaty of Fontainebleau, in perfect peace and amity, and without any material complaint or remonstrance from either party. France, after two years diligent search, could find no pretext for making war on Great Britain, except that of interest ; but it was not politic nor popular to avow in the face of the world that they acted on this great and first article of your political creed. The French Ministers, therefore, prefaced the treaty by declaring, on their part, that America, that is, Our States (it cannot be supposed that they meant their own or the Spanish Colonies) were, and of right ought to be, sovereign and independant. Without this declaration, France could not pretend even to the shadow of an excuse for entering into a treaty of amity, of commerce, and of defence with those who, at the signing of the Treaty of Fontainebleau, were confessedly the subjects of Great

Britain, but who at present were in arms against her. It was, therefore, interested policy alone which induced France to declare us to be sovereign and independant. The same policy made her declare that she had no view of exciting a war between the two nations by this step, and to profess in her rescript, or declaration, of this transaction to the Court of London, on the 13th, of March, 1778, that she even wished that Great Britain would adopt the same measure.

It is often the interest of nations, as well as of individuals, whatever their designs may be, to save appearances, and the Court of France never lost sight of this general maxim. The Ministers of France, in July, 1778, complained of the attack and capture of the frigate *La Belle Poule*, as being a violation of the treaties between France and Great Brittain, and as being a commencement of hostilities on the part of the Court of London, and they published manifestoes on this subject, and spread them through Europe; though at the same time they were conscious that war had, long before the capture of the *Belle Poule*, been declared by their orders, and hostilities commenced by the Count d'Estaing. Nothing but interest, and nothing short of the important one which I have mentioned, could have induced France to attempt such temporary and insufficient subterfuges. I have received a part of our political transactions, and of those of our ally, to establish the great and principle article of a political creed, which is, or as you observe ought to be, universal.

Though the treaty between France and America rests on the grounds of equality and reciprocity, yet the object of it is, in express terms, declared to be no other than the liberty, sovereignty, and independancy of America, both in matters of government and of commerce; and France, sensible of the advantages which must result to her, stipulated for nothing expressly for herself, except that neither party shall be at liberty to conclude peace or truce without the consent

of the other, or untill the sovereignty and independancy of America shall be expressly or tacitly acknowledged or consented to by Great Britain.

But if the words of the treaty and of the subsequent ratification of it by Congress are followed, instead of the spirit and sense of them, France, by these treaties and this ratification, actually made herself mistress of our lives and fortunes; for if we are obliged, after the great object of the treaty is obtained, to continue the war as long as France shall find it for her interest or for the interest of her allies to continue it, what are we more than the feudal and military, not mercenaries, but slaves of that power? But to return to the question how far we are agreed in our political creed, I presume that you will subscribe to this principle, that the great and ultimate end of civil government is the greatest interest of the governed; and that that constitution of civil government which affords the greatest and most permanent security to the peace, liberty, and happiness of the subject ought to be preferred. You imply, indeed, as much in your letter, when you say that you "*do not suppose the treaty will exist longer*" than it shall mutually appear to be the interest of the parties that it should exist; and, consequently, if it appears to be essentially for the interest of America to accept of the terms offered for peace and reconciliation, I cannot see, on your own principles, any ground for the heavy charges of ingratitude, of baseness, or injustice. It appears to me that we are thus far agreed, and that the only point in which we differ, is whether it be for the interest of America to make peace on the terms proposed, or to continue the war. I have given it as my opinion that to be governed by no laws but those of our own enacting, nor to be taxed but by our own consent and authority, and to enjoy freedom of commerce—or, in other words, independance in the great articles of legislation, taxation, and commerce—contains all the essentials of liberty and independance, and that the title and honors of sovereignty can by no means balance

the losses and the expences of blood and treasure unavoidable in the acquisition and support of them. In one part of your letter you appear, indeed, fully to agree with me even in this, for you say "*that being independant in fact*" (which it is evident that the above terms will make us), "*the name is a bauble.*" Yet to my extreme surprize you afterwards say that, sooner than accept of these terms, "You will consent to load yourself, your constituents and posterity with a debt equal to the whole property of the country." Here, indeed, we differ; for I cannot conceive how any people or nation in such a situation, though nominally free, sovereign, and independant can be effectively other than slaves, since to have not only all our own property, but all the property of our posterity, with all the produce of our and of their labor mortgaged, and subject to the disposition of others, if it does not comprehend every idea of the most absolute slavery, it does not leave, at least to my feeble apprehension, one essential advantage or blessing of liberty. But you tell me that this is not only yours, but the unanimous opinion and resolutions of my countrymen. It becomes me to submit my opinion to theirs.

I confess myself greatly surprized to find, after you have declared that interest is, or ought to be, the first and leading principle in every man's political creed, and that you do not suppose that the treaty with France will subsist any longer than it shall appear to be for our interest that it should subsist, and that the name of independance is a bauble, that you should express yourself so forcibly on the subject of a peace with Great Britain as to say that the injustice, ingratitude, and baseness of it would be such that we should even want words to shelter us from the contempt of mankind.

Permit me to ask you if a peace, on the terms which I ventured to propose, is for the interest of our country, how we can, on your own principles, be at all exposed to the contempt of mankind; and how, on

the same principles, we can expect to avoid not only the contempt of the present age, but the censures and even execrations of the future, if, instead of attending to the true interests of our country, we sacrifice to the letter, not to the spirit, of a treaty and its ratification (I will not say, with you, all the present and future property of our country), but her true interests and the securities for her present and future peace, liberty, and happiness.

I presume that treaties between nations are generally as sacred in one instance as in another ; yet having been, perhaps, universally founded on the first article of your political creed, *interest*, they have been as universally explained away or broken on the same principle. I will cite one instance out of the many hundreds which your reading must have furnish'd you with. The Treaty of Fontainebleau of 1763 was as solemn and binding on France as those of Paris of 1778 can be on us. The advantages which France obtained by that treaty were as great as those which it can be supposed that we gained by those of Paris. The former had been confirm'd by fifteen years of peace and a mutual exchange of good offices, uninterrupted during that space of time by any one complaint of a serious nature. France pretended none when she signed the treaties with us, and suddenly gave orders for the commencement of hostilities against England. France, therefore, in this measure, acted entirely on your general principles, and I cannot see how a conduct on her part merits from you the epithets of noble, liberal, and generous, which on ours should be so ungrateful, unjust, and base that words are wanting to shelter us from the contempt of mankind should we adopt it. But though I, a firm believer in your doctrine, exerted at that period the utmost of my power to bring on that event, yet am by no means at this time for advising my countrymen to pursue the example then set them. The interest of my country was then, and is now, my sole or first object ; that of France a remote or contin-

gent one. The Ministers of France met us on this point, and declared that they meant nothing more in their treaty ; and as they apparently stipulated for nothing more than for the interest of America in the secure establishment of her peace, safety, and liberty, the commissioners were happy to meet them on such grounds.

The French Minister declared that they stipulated for nothing on the account of France, but that the direct and essential end of the treaty, or alliance, was the liberty, sovereignty, and independance of America ; or, in other words, our greatest security for peace, liberty, and happiness.

The commissioners had every inducement and every right to take them on their proposal ; but if we are, or shall be, convinced that by a peace on certain terms (no matter if on those proposed by me or by others) these great and first objects may be effectually secured, and that by a refusal of them and a continuance of the war they will at least be in danger of being lost, shall we, by concluding a peace, merit all the hard epithets of ungrateful, unjust, &c., which your letter so liberally bestows on us, under such circumstances ? The true end and object of government, as it was at first instituted for the good of the governed, is to secure their peace, liberty, and happiness, or their greatest interest ; but did we by the treaties of Paris of 1778, or by the subsequent ratification, give up the right of judging on this subject ourselves ? Did we alienate and make it over to France and to her allies ? If we did not, the subject is open for examination and discussion, and we are still free to judge of our own interests, and to pursue the measures most likely to obtain them. But if a contrary construction is to be put on the words of the Treaties of Paris, and of the act or resolve of Congress, ratifying them, we are virtually become the military slaves and vassals of France and of her allies, and justly merit the epithets or character which you have so forcibly given, but which you justly say words

are wanting fully to express. I have already mentioned the reasons which induce me to think that my letter must have undergone many and material alterations before it came to your hands, and I know no more of the proposals made by Sir Guy Carleton than what the public papers announce, consequently nothing determinate and certain. I only know that the proposals which I hinted at and ventured to recommend in my letter to you, and in my letters to others in America, were in effect simply these : That Parliament should renounce all claim or pretence to legislate for or to tax America in any case, or in any shape whatever ; that this power should forever, and in the utmost extent of it, remain in our own hands, and that we should still continue united to, and a part of, the same empire, under one common sovereign ; and that our commerce should be placed on the same equal and free regulations as the commerce of the other parts of the empire, and under the common protection of the whole. This is the substance of my proposals at the time. I then judged if peace and reconciliation could take place on those terms, it would be more for the interest of my country than to continue the war, and to run the hazard of the issue ; but if Sir Guy Carleton's proposals were similar, you and my countrymen judge differently, and I submit to time and experience to determine which of us judge right, and for the best, or the nearest to it.

I cannot dismiss the subject without observing that tho' you place interest as the leading and first principle in every man's political creed, and afterwards say that you do not suppose that the treaty will exist longer than it shall be for the interest of the parties to observe it, yet that you lay such stress on the explanatory declaration of Congress as to declare that a reconciliation and peace with Great Britain, even if for our interest (for you make no distinction), would be a *breach of faith as consummately infamous as it is important* ; and though you ground your opposition to the proposals of Great Britain solely on the supposition of

our being to return to the state in which we were in 1763, which you say is the proposal of the enemy, but which, most clearly, never was mine; yet even in that case I submit to the cool and impartial judgment of my countrymen, formed on a review of their past situation, and a comparison of it with the present, whether the state in which we were in 1763, and previous to that period, is, or ought not to be, preferred to that which you would prefer: viz, that of being loaded with a debt equal to the whole of the present and future property of the country. I pray that my country may not be obliged to submit to, or accept of, either of these conditions.

But, from a review of our former situation, I am indeed led to think that if we had no other alternative, the first would be the least cruel and burthensome; but you think differently, and you have more experience and knowledge on this subject than myself.

But I have already shewn that the question between us rests on a very different alternative, and that I never proposed that we should return to the state in which we were in 1763, but to one every way preferable. As my former letter with your answer have been honored with a place in the public files, I have only to add that I hope this may be permitted to accompany them. I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most Obedt. and Hble. Serv't.,

S. DEANE.

Governor Trumbull.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

FROM THOMAS BARCLAY

L'Orient, Dec. 8th, 1782.

SIR,—I received some time ago your favor of the 20th of September, and should have immediately returned an answer, if I had been enabled to have given one, but until a few days ago I did not receive from

THE DEANE PAPERS.

ary of Foreign Affairs any answer to what I
he subject of your accounts with the United
y the arrival last week of the Nonsuch at
Mr. Livingston writes me of the 12th, Sept., that
y-
ounts are in the hands of a committee of Con-
gress, and that he will give me the earliest information
of their determination thereon. I have also a letter
from Mr. Morris, dated the 23d, September, wherein he
informs me that Congress have in contemplation a plan
for adjusting all the accounts of their public servants in
Europe, which, when compleated, will provide for the
adjustment of yours.

Whatever is further communicated to me from the
Secretary of Foreign Affairs or the Superintendent of
Finance, relative to your accounts, shall be duly trans-
mitted to you. Mean time I am, Sir,

Your most Obedt. Servt.,

THOS. BARCLAY.

Silas Deane, Esq'r.,
at Brussels.

Thomas Mss.

CERTIFICATE OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

CERTAIN paragraphs having lately appeared in the
English newspapers, imputing that Silas Deane, Esq.,
formerly Agent and Commissioner Plenipotentiary of
the United States of America, had, some time after his
first "arrival in France, purchased in that kingdom, for
the use of his countrymen, 30,000 muskets, &c. ; that
he gave three livres for each of them, being old con-
demned arms ; that he had them cleaned and vamped
up, which cost near three livres more ; and that for each
of these he charged and received a louis d'or ;" and
that he also committed similar frauds in the purchase of
other articles for the use of his country ; and Mr. Deane
having represented that the said paragraphs are likely
to injure him in the opinions of many persons unac-

quainted with his conduct whilst in the public service, I think it my duty, in compliance with his request, to certify and declare that the paragraphs in question, according to my best knowledge and belief, are entirely false, and that I have never known or suspected any cause to charge the said Silas Deane with any want of probity, in any purchase, or bargain, whatever, made by him for the use or account of the United States.

Given at Passay, the 18th, of December, 1782.

B. FRANKLIN.

Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America, at the Court of France.

TO PHILIP THICKNESSE.

Ghent, Jan. 14th, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—I return you inclosed the letter which I presume you sent me, and thank you for the pains which you have taken in that affair. You must have seen in the last St. James's paper a letter and certificate respecting my injured character. This paper was accompanied with a letter from Mr. Baldwin to me, of which I send you a copy inclosed. Mr. Baldwin has by no means satisfied me; on the contrary, he has increased my uneasiness, by pretending that the calumny was first inserted in his paper, from a regard to the Wanderer, whom he stiles, his and my friend. Possibly you can explain this mystery; and, if in your power, permit me to say that it is a duty which you owe to yourself, as well as to me. You must remember that I told you, when I was last at Brussels, that I was well persuaded the calumny was fabricated and sent on from thence. I had not the most distant suspicion that you could have been, in the least, privy to it. At present I am inclined to suspect that the author may have made use of your name to Mr. Baldwin, to induce him the more readily to insert it, if, indeed, that man wants any other inducement than the sale of his paper, to assas-

sinate, without distinction, the character of his fellow-men, whether friends or aliens. Baldwin has not satisfied me. Should I let him off on the pitiful excuse or apology which he has sent me, he would triumph on his having had the address to fill up a part of one of his papers with a calumny of the most atrocious nature against me, and a subsequent one with a refutation of it. He says that I had suffered *the calumny to circulate for years uncontradicted*. This has no foundation in truth any more than the calumny itself, which was first published in his paper, and was first circulated by him. This is a fact well known to all the world, that is, to all the readers of newspapers and political publications, in many of which, though I have been grossly abused, yet no one of them ever so much as hinted at any thing of this nature. But this is a matter between Mr. Baldwin and myself, in which our sentiments are so very different that it may be necessary to appeal to men learned in the law to decide whether an empoisoner or an assassin is excusable on account of his having afterwards administered the best remedy or antidote in his power, and if *aliens* are lawful game or not. But what confounds me, and, I think, must surprize you, is that he says *a regard to my friend (and your friend) the Wanderer, occasioned the admission of the offensive letter into the St. James Chronicle*. Pray relieve me from the embarrassment into which this has thrown me, by an explanation, if in your power, of this dark and mysterious affair. I should have returned you my thanks for the trouble you were at to obtain the letters printed with my signature, had it not been that I waited for the certificate from Doctor Franklin and for Baldwin's answer to my letter. This, I trust, will excuse any apparent neglect. I am, with Compliments to Mrs. Thicknesse and family, Dear Sir,

Your most Obedt., Humble Servt.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Thicknesse.

Thomas Mss.

WILLIAM LEE TO SAMUEL THORPE.

Bruxelles, Jan. 17th, 1783.

* * * I observe that Dr. F. has given a certificate in vindication of Silas Deane, relative to the charge against him about the magazine of old firelocks. Was I in London, I would make the following reply in the public papers :

"A correspondent who has read Dr. B. Franklin's certificate, published in the London papers, in vindication of Mr. Silas Deane from a charge bro't against him, the said S. D., for a gross imposition on the Congress of the United States of America, in the purchase of a magazine of old iron, and old, useless musquets, says it puts him in mind of an associate appearing at the Old Bailey in support of the character and honesty of his fellow laborer in the same vocation, who stood arraign'd for a highway robbery ; for he has seen a publication in America, wherein Dr. B. Franklin is publicly charged with being as deep in the mud as Mr. Silas Deane is in the mire, about the same magazine of old rusty iron ; and to this public charge Dr. B. Franklin has never yet found it expedient to make any reply."

W. Woodfall would publicly be glad of such an article. The doctor is, however, protected, for reasons obvious, by the Court of Versailles, and until there is full peace, he can't be bro't to the punishment he has too deeply merited. But I have more than one written proof, even under his own hand writing, that he carried his hand to a direct falsehood. * * *

Ford's Writings of William Lee, p. 915.

FROM JOHN BURGWIN.

Thornbury, Gloucestershire, Jan. 26th, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR,—I had the pleasure of receiving your favour of the 25th, last month, a few weeks

since, which I should have acknowledged before had it not been for a kind of suspense I have been in on account of peace, which I had every reason to think, from the information I received, must be near at hand, and a few days since the preliminaries have been announced by the Secretary of State as signed by the plenipotentiaries on the part of Britain, France, and Spain. Hostilities are to cease between this country and the States of Holland, but the preliminaries are not yet adjusted.

It is said peace has been obtained on tolerable terms for this country. Indeed, any peace that secures the friendship of America is desirable, and my hearty prayers are that it may not be too late for that object.

Charles Town was evacuated on the 13th, December. The evacuation and repossession of it has been the most liberal and handsome transaction that has taken place since the war. It was left and entered by treaty. Signals were agreed to and observed. Of course every thing was conducted with the greatest decency and decorum. Those loyalists who chose to remain in the town were permitted, under the protection of Governor Matthews, who, I am told, is a gentleman of humane and liberal sentiments; and I sincerely wish the like sentiments may be adopted for the general happiness of the citizens of the United States, and that all former animosities may cease and be no more. I, however, fear some causes of contention may arise between the States relative to their accounts, and settlements of their boundaries, which ought to be the business of every citizen of weight, influence, and understanding to prevent, by contributing his assistance towards adjusting these matters in an amicable and equitable manner under their several local circumstances. That although the debt accumulated during the war, which for some years must continue, with the additional burthen of the necessary expences of the government in the several States, as well as the general expence of the congressional or national government

will likewise continue to be very high and burthen-some to the at present exhausted citizens, yet, if internal peace and tranquillity takes place within the states, which will greatly depend on the humanity, generosity, and liberality of the several Assemblies, I have not a doubt but ways and means will be found by its own resources of raising supplies, at least for the interest of the present debt, as well as the present expences of government, which I hope will now be settled on a plain and equitable plan. England may be an example of the sad effects of a contrary procedure, which we ought to profit by. America has abundance of resources within itself, not yet generally known, and can only be brought to general view by good order and peaceable establishment in its several states, which once fixed, its resources will soon show themselves, to the surprize of every other country. We have seen what industry and frugality have done for the United States of Holland, which can scarcely be denominated a country. Let us, then, look up to the thirteen United States of America, in its extent, its different soils, its various produce and climates; and, if it don't become too unwieldy for one empire, it will certainly be, perhaps, the greatest in its real value of any that ever existed; tho', I must confess, and to you I think I can risque the sentiment, that I often doubted the sincerity of France for American independance. America I thought only in its infancy, and its independance appeared rather premature. But however intricate the ways of Providence to man, they are ever just; and extraordinary as it may appear to human wisdom, most certain it is that this surprizing revolution has been brought about under the permission of Providence, by the profligacy, dissipation, and want of virtue in the British nation and its army; and, if I mistake not, the French are outwitted. Be that as it may, America has now an opportunity of making the experiment, and if on experience she finds herself worsted, she may return, and with the protecting wings

of her mother country—whom, it is to be hoped, has learned wisdom—and will be happy in her assistance and friendship.

It will afford me great pleasure in seeing you under my roof before I embark for America, which will be, I imagine, pretty early in the spring; and as you will no doubt wish to see your old school-fellow in London, whom you will find at No. 219 Oxford Street, please take him by the hand and bring him with you. I have seen him only once since my return.

I am told Mr. Franklin is appointed Ambassador from the United States to London, and is daily expected. Please to excuse this scrawl. I am hurried to save the post, which saves three days. Pray drop me a few lines, if you have so much time to spare, and believe me to be sincerely and truly, my Dear Sir,

Your Friend & Servt.,

BURGWIN.

To Silas Deane, Esquire,
au Coffee Gentois, Ghent.

Thomas Mss.

TO JOHN JAY.

Ghent, Feb. 10th, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote to you a few weeks since on the subject of some abusive publications against me in London. As Doctor Franklin gave a certificate on that subject, there was the less necessity for you to take notice of my letter, and considering your political situation, I readily excused you; but the subject of my present letter is so interesting, and presses so hard on me, that I make no excuse or apology for addressing you on it. I have, by borrowing money, and with the most rigid æconomy, passed almost three years in Europe, waiting for Congress to give orders for the examination and settlement of my accompts. My time has been entirely lost. Want of funds has prevented

my attempting anything towards retrieving my injured fortune, and I have even contracted debts to support me, which I am unable, without remittances from America, or some part of the large balance due me from Congress, to discharge. I have a considerable balance due me on an old commercial affair in London; some dispute having arisen on it, advantage has been taken of my situation, to keep me out of the money, though were I on the spot it might be instantly settled, and I might hope for some advantages from being among the first in sending out goods to America; yet I am told it would be taken ill by my countrymen should I go to London, though hostilities are suspended, and every one at liberty to go there when they please. I confess this is perfectly inexplicable to me. I will not trespass on your time or patience by reminding you of the past, but must take the liberty to observe that my present situation exhibits an instance, rarely if ever to be met with where men profess to preserve the least degree of consistency, or of honor in their dealings. Suspensions were raised in America of my integrity in my commercial transactions for my country; these were increased and spread by my enemies until the Congress, whose faithful servant I had been, professed to entertain doubts on the subject. I did not evade or keep back from the most severe examination and trial; on the contrary, I urged and solicited for it without delay; it was my interest, as well as for my honor, to do so. Yet as soon as I presented myself in Europe with my accompts, for examination, I could not obtain any; and, whilst I have been struggling to keep myself above the last extremes of personal want and indigence, I have been calumnized in America as being a defaulter grown rich out of public monies, and this by those who had it all times in their power to convict and to make a public example of me had they found me guilty on a trial, to which I presented myself, and for which I solicited. My accompts have been before

Congress more than a year ; duplicates of them have been for a longer time in the hands of Doctor Franklin and of Mr. Barclay. Congress wrote to me by their secretary, in Sept., 1781, that orders were given to Mr. Barclay to settle my accounts ; yet Mr. Barclay received no instructions on the subject, and when he desired one of the members to move for explicit instructions, he was told that it was not intended that he should have any concern in the affair. Accustomed as I have been to extraordinary manœuvres, this would be incredible to me had I not the proof of it in my hands. If my enemies believed one word of what they have asserted and propagated against me for five years past in America, would they hesitate one moment to bring me to a trial ? If Congress thought there were any grounds for the charges, would they be so unjust to their constituents as to refuse all examination ? But I will not enter farther on the disagreeable subject. I have wrote thus much to support the request which I have to make, which is, to be informed if there can be any objections to my going to London, and what it may be, and that you would use your influence with Congress to have positive orders and instructions sent for examining and closing of my accompts ; permit me to say that I think you personally interested to know whether one formerly honored with your friendship and confidence was at the time worthy or not. I have written many letters to my brothers to use their interest with the members of Congress to have justice done me ; but though most, if not all my letters arrived in America, not one of them for more than twelve months has come to their hands. My brother wrote me a letter in November last, in which he tells me that not one of my letters had come to his hands for more than thirteen months. I hope this circumstance will excuse my troubling you with the inclosed for him, which I have sent unsealed, to prevent all objections to its being forwarded, but pray you to seal it, and inclose it to some friend of yours in

America ; and if you judge it most prudent not to write to me directly, that you will be so kind as to confide to our mutual friend, Doctor Bancroft, your verbal answer, with an injunction to send it me without delay, for I am no stranger to his extreme indolence as to writing. Were I conscious of having done anything to render me unworthy of your correspondence I should neither write to you nor expect an answer from you ; but your public character may require that of you in such cases which may be foreign to your private sentiments ; of this you alone are the judge. I most sincerely congratulate you and our country on the peace, which is such as must reflect great honor on all concerned in the negotiation ; though it is not probable, if possible, that I should ever take any part in future in the public affairs of my own or of any other country. I am not the less interested in the liberty and happiness of America, however unfavorably I may be regarded there. I can assure you that I have neither prospects, interests, nor even hopes or wishes in any other country, and that the whole of my ambition is confined to demonstrate to my countrymen and to the world that I served my country faithfully whilst in her service, and to be able to pass my life in retirement and peace without meddling with government or governors, and free from persecution from them. I hope that my country can afford me this much, and I ask no more. My most respectful compliments to Mrs. Jay, and sincere wishes for your mutual happiness attend you.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Hon. John Jay.

Thomas Mss.

TO BARNABAS DEANE.

Ghent, Feb. 10th, 1783.

DEAR BROTHER,—I received your letter by Mr. Grieve, and also that wrote in November. It is really

surprising that you should not have received any from me for more than thirteen months. I wrote you many during that time, and I know that the greater part of them arrived at Philadelphia. But, unhappily, my letters, as well as every thing belonging to me, have been regarded as free plunder by both parties for some time past. I have sent this inclosed to Mr. Jay, at Paris, and therefore depend on its reaching you. I congratulate you on the peace, the conditions of which you will have before this arrives, and shall only say that I think they must be as satisfactory as the peace itself is seasonable and every way honorable. Deprived of the funds which I counted on in Europe, I have been put to great difficulties, of which I wrote at large in my former letters, and will not, though they miscarried, pain you with a detail of them in this. I hope to be able to go for London in a few days, and shall recover sufficient out of an old balance due me to answer my present and more pressing demands. My not being able to go there earlier has done me great damage; but I resolved to suffer any thing rather than to give any farther advantage to my enemies. You tell me that Col. Webb has moved into my house. I hope you disposed of all my furniture, and took care of my papers. If not done already, I pray you to sell my moveables and personal estate of every kind, and my real estate, if it can be done without too great a loss, and remit me as early as possible, the proceeds addressed to Mr. Grand, banker, at Paris, or to some good house in London. I can at present name none, but will write you soon from thence. I expect that my son and Mr. Sebor will embark for America in May next; but I cannot think of returning until my old affairs in Europe are brought to some close, and I pray you to use your interest with such of the members of Congress as you are acquainted with, to have some decisive and final resolution taken on the subject. I am willing to have my accounts submitted to the decision of any disinterested merchants

or bankers at Paris, if any objections are made to them. Congress have now been in possession of them more than a year ; Doctor Franklin more than three years. Surely if any thing erroneous or fraudulent is in them, they must have been discovered before this time. The balance due me is upwards of 300,000 livres, a sum that would set me at ease, and enable me to do something in future. As you are in trade in Connecticut, and our brother Simeon Deane in Virginia, I may be able to do you some service whilst I remain in Europe, as your correspondent, and to execute your orders for goods from hence. As commerce must be free, I think that ours will immediately pass into the old channels, which makes me wish to be in England as soon as possible ; but I cannot give you any address there, having at present none myself ; but if you write by the way of France or this country, your letters will find me, sent addressed as formerly.

I foresee an inundation of goods from Europe into America, and therefore caution you of adventuring too deeply at the first ; for the want of the means of remittances from America, and the quantities of goods sent out, will cause great losses to many, until commerce take its old and regular course. I wrote you the 20th, ulto., which letter I hope, from the pacific disposition prevailing, will pass without difficulty. I must repeat my request for the remittances of whatever you can raise on my account in America. I shall send you by Mr. Sebor the particulars of my situation, and of what has passed since our parting. My compliments to such friends as remember me, particularly to Col. G. Wylls, my early and constant friend, and to his sons, and remember affectionately to our sister and the families at Wethersfield.

I am, Dear Brother, Yours, etc.,

S. DEANE.

B. Deane, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

TO EDWARD BANCROFT.

Ghent, Feb. 10th, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—I received yours of the 4th, inst., the greatest part of which was as illegible as mine could possibly have been, and I am utterly at a loss to conceive what possible objection can be started against my going to London. No reasonable one existed previous to the signing of the preliminaries, and why I should be debarred a privilege which all the world enjoy, I know not. I have now worse than lost five years of my life, and when now, and as I hope, favorable scenes are opening, I have every motive to urge me to attempt something. I have written a letter to Mr. Jay, which he may probably shew you, as I have not solicited any answer from him. I wish not to push him one step out of the road of prudence and caution which he may have marked out for himself. If he thinks it unsafe to correspond with me, I will not blame him, nor trouble him with any more of my letters. I have, therefore, requested him, if that is his way of thinking, to send me his answer verbally through you; which I pray you to lose no time in transmitting, for my affairs are really pressing, and I wait only to know the grounds for his objection to my going to London, having every thing ready for the voyage, and, like other prisoners and exiles, every day, now that my deliverance is in view, is a year in imagination. I shall inclose this letter in mine to him; and in it you will have a letter to my brother, inclosing a power and orders for the disposition of my affairs in America, and to make me remittances, &c. You will give it to Doctor Franklin, with my respectful compliments, and pray him to forward it in his first dispatches. I have a letter from my brother, dated in November last, in which he tells me that he had received no letters from me for more than thirteen months. As I have wrote many to him in that time, most of

which I know arrived safe in Philadelphia, I must pray the doctor to enclose mine to some friend of his in Philadelphia, or Connecticut, with particular orders; for I find that no quarter has been given to my letters, either within or without the lines. I fear that no such order as that spoken of by Mr. Ridley exists. Pray take an opportunity to remind Doctor Franklin of my situation as to my accompts, and of the importance, as well to him as myself, to have those affairs in which we are in some measure jointly involved brought to a settlement as soon as possible. It is trifling for Congress to pretend important business as an excuse for delay. A matter of meer accompt is not their province. It is at once below them, and they unequal to it. All disputes, if any arise on that subject, ought to be referred to auditors; and five minutes are as good as five years to appoint them in. I shall object to no disinterested, intelligent person, and I will even thank them, if they will at once resolve any way that will relieve me from the state of uncertainty in which I have been so long tormented. I most sincerely congratulate you on the peace. I think it every way honorable on our part, and hope it may bring as many good days to make amends for the evil ones which we have suffered. If it would be of any importance to my private affairs (I have not, nor even wish to have any others on hand), I would come to Paris. Give me your advice as to the reception I may expect. I have no desire to go where I must meet with disagreeable words or actions. I have had enough of both. There are many persons at Paris I wish to see, and sincerely esteem; but I should despise myself, as much as they ought to, if I sought to renew my acquaintance with them by any submission or on unequal terms. I wrote freely, and, I confess, unguardedly, my sentiments on our affairs at a very gloomy period. It is no way extraordinary that my mind should be affected at the dangerous situation in which I then viewed every thing dear to me to be in; nor that my pen should

express the feelings of my heart ; nor that I did not foresee events then unexpected by every one. All this, I can candidly confess ; but an error in judgment is not a crime. Could the public view the letters of men in high station at that time to their friends, on both sides the water, mine would not appear to be the only desponding or criminal ones. Have you seen Mr. Livingston at Paris ? Is Mr. Holker expected soon from Philadelphia ? Is young Mumford still with Mr. Williams ? I have an affair to settle with Sabbatier and Desprey, on which a considerable balance is due to me. This makes me wish to pass a few weeks at Paris ; and you must tell me if you advise me to do it immediately, or to postpone it a few months. I wish you to go out to America as early as you can conveniently, on your own account, as well as mine, for I fear that Wharton will never do any thing in our affairs, but by your being present and urging him in person ; and the affairs of Vandalia unless immediately pushed will become irretrievable. If you are certain of being in London in April, it will be in time. I must pray you to answer me generally to this rambling letter ; and take no notice for the present of W. F., as I suspect his fidelity.

Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Doctor Bancroft.

Thomas Mss.

WILLIAM LEE TO ARTHUR LEE.

Bruxelles, Feb. 10th, 1783.

* * * THIS will go by Mrs. Izard ; therefore, I send you, as you desired it, pretty authentic proof that Dr. Franklin *did know* where Mr. W. Lee was in March last ; and ye enclosed London paper will show that I was not mistaken in saying some time ago to you or Mr. Izard that I had reason to think the old connection between S. Deane and his former associates

and correspondents was not broken off; but the known apostacy of S. Deane from the cause of his country, and the universal indignation with which he was looked upon in America, had made them a little more cautious and circumspect than formerly in their connection and correspondence with him. * * *

Ford's Writings of Mr. William Lee, p. 924.

FROM JOHN JAY.

Paris, Feb. 22d, 1783.

SIR,—Your letter of the 10th, instant, was delivered to me a few days ago.

The reason to which you ascribe my not having answered the other you wrote me was the true one; viz., that it was unnecessary.

The time has been when my writing to you would not have depended on such a circumstance, for you are not mistaken in supposing that I was once your friend. I really was, and should still have been so had you not advised Americans to desert that independence which they had pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their *sacred honor* to support.

The charges against you of peculation, etc., undoubtedly called for strict and speedy inquiry; but I expected that you would make a satisfactory defense against them. I hope so still.

I will write to Congress about your accounts, as you desire, and justice certainly demands that they should be liquidated and settled.

Dr. Bancroft, some time ago, asked my opinion as to your going to England. I told him it would be imprudent, but not that "it would be taken ill." To my knowledge, you was and are suspected of being in the British interest. Such a step would have strengthened that suspicion, and at that interesting period would have countenanced harsh conjectures as to the motives and objects of your journey, which, for my part, I could

not divine. Perhaps the suspicion I mention is new to you ; if so, the information is important.

Before this will come to your hands, and you should afterwards get to London, the above-mentioned objections will be weakened ; and as circumstances press your going, it is probable you will venture. Let me advise you to be prudent, and to be cautious what company you keep and what conversation you hold in that country.

I write thus plainly and fully because I still indulge an idea that your head may have been more to blame than your heart ; and that in some melancholy, desponding hour the disorder of your nerves infected your opinions and your pen. God grant that this may prove to have been the case, and that I may yet have reason to resume my former opinion, that you was a valuable, a virtuous, and a patriotic man. Whenever this may happen, I will, with great and sincere satisfaction, again become

Your friend,

JOHN JAY.

P. S.—I shall inclose your letters for your brother to Secretary Livingston.
Silas Deane, Esq.

Jay Mss.

TO LE RAY CHAUMONT.

Ghent, Feb. 28th, 1783.

SIR,—I most sincerely congratulate you on the peace, and hope that one of the good consequences of it will be that we may recover by it some part, at least, of what we lost during the war, in endeavouring to promote the commerce of our respective countries. You must remember the mast contract which Mr. Duer and I entered into, and sent you a copy of it. As I presume that your navy will not be neglected during the peace, I flatter myself that it may now be carried into execution. You have advanced some

money in it, as well as myself; and the contract, if executed, would richly repay us, and in a short time. Unfortunately for me, my name being in the contract, may be an objection. If it ought to be one to me, it ought not to be one to you, or to Mr. Duer; and to remove all objections of that nature, I am content that my name should be left out in the new contract, on condition that I am reimbursed the sums which I have advanced. I do this to remove any objection, and to serve you and Mr. Duer, and others interested, as well as to regain the money I have advanced. For it is at once the interest of your Ministers to confirm the contract, and the interest of the contractors to execute it faithfully; but the most that I can hope for is to recover so much of my shipwrecked fortune as to free me from my present embarrassments. I have applied to Mr. Jay on the subject, and I send this letter enclosed to Doctor Bancroft, who, if your son should not be with you, may explain it to you. It is for your interest to obtain a confirmation of this contract, and my being out of the question, no prejudices which you or others may entertain against me can operate against it. I pray you to give Doctor Bancroft the account of the voyage of Capt. Roach and Mr. Bromfield. It has been long since closed. I advanced 100,000 livres in France on it, on account of Mr. Morris and myself, in equal shares. I have received nothing, except a trifle of continental money in America, of which Mr. Morris had one half. He has received also 15,000 livres of you, though he never advanced one livre from the first to this time. I pray you, also, to give Doctor Bancroft the account of the adventure of sugar, cotton, &c., in which Messrs. Sabbatier and Desprey, and Mr. Holker and others were interested. As it is now almost five years since those took place, they must be closed before this time, and the accompts settled. These and many other important affairs, which suffer by my absence, make me wish to return immediately to Paris;

but whilst prejudices are so strong against me there that my person, as I am told, would be in danger, I can have no business so urgent as to induce me to undertake the journey. I flatter myself that peace will calm men's minds in a few months, so far that, being at peace with all the world, an individual will not be regarded as an enemy because, in the hour of despondency, and apprehensions for his country, he imprudently attempted to warn his countrymen of what he thought their danger; that some consideration will be had for his early painful and faithful services, in which he disinterestedly sacrificed his time and fortune, and for which he received from a faction in America nothing but reproaches and abuse. I do not ask for any favor, and, therefore, cannot be so base as to deny or ask forgiveness for any thing I have either said or done. It is true that I wrote many letters to America on the subject of what appeared at the time to be the dangerous and critical situation of my country; it is true that I wrote them to my private friends, for their information; it is equally true that some of those letters were basely betrayed, and that others were intercepted and published in New York, not to serve Great Britain so much as to injure me; and for that purpose some of them were altered in many parts, and the whole placed in the most unfavorable light. Though I am ready to acknowledge that I was misinformed and misled in some, and even in many, things, and that I was imprudent to write or speak at all on the subject, yet, as a free citizen, I had a right to do both; nor will I ever part with that right of speaking and writing my sentiments on the state and management of the public affairs of my country; but I shall, from what has past, be more on my guard in future. I shall set off for London in a few days from this time, and as soon as I arrive will inform you, through Doctor Bancroft, of my address; but you need not wait for that to give him the above papers. I am solicitous to have those old affairs settled, and hope that they are

now so arranged that it may be done, even if I should be absent from Paris. Present my compliments to your family, particularly to Monsr. Foricaut and his spouse.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Monsr. Chaumont.

Thomas Mss.

TO JOHN JAY.

Ghent, Feb. 28th, 1783.

SIR,—I received yours of the 22d, this morning only. Please to accept my thanks for your engaging to send forward my letter, and to write to Congress on the subject of my accompts, and also for your kind advice as to my conduct whilst in England, for which, as I now find there is no objection, I shall set out in a few days. I have long since been informed of the suspicion of my being in the interest of Great Britain; the causes from which those suspicions arose are well known. I will not pretend to say but that there have been some appearances to found them on, especially in a time when one who, though from the most sincere love for his country, and from apprehensions for its future peace, liberty, and safety, ventured to express his wishes for peace and reconciliation, was sure to be regarded as in the British interest, and, by a forced but popular inference, against that of his own country, as if the true interests of both were absolutely incompatible. Had the letters of some, the first in office in America, and even at the head, both of civil and military departments, met with the fate which attended mine, to have been intercepted and published, I should not have stood singly in the unhappy predicament in which I am placed; but I am no way disposed to make so ungrateful a return for your kindness in writing as to trouble you with the detail of the unfavorable prospects before us—at least

before me—at the time when I wrote those unfortunate letters. You can but recollect them both, those which were well and those that were ill founded, and your good sense must lead you to reflect that a bystander ignorant of measures not visible to all, which was then my case, could not, at the period in which I wrote, have had one favorable prospect before him as to our public affairs; and I most certainly had none as to my private, but the reverse. Unfortunately I am not blessed with that gay and sanguine disposition which leadeth the happy possessors of it to hope and to believe all things which they wish for. In such a situation and with such feelings it was not possible for me, if I wrote or spoke at all, not to express sentiments tinged by the gloom before me. I was early taught that the happiness and safety of a people ought to be the first and supreme law, and that every citizen of a free state had the right of delivering his sentiments, wherein it appeared to him that safety and happiness consisted, and how they might be most effectually secured, and that an error in judgment could not be regarded as a crime; though should he attempt to support his sentiments, in contradiction to those of his countrymen, by any other means than those of reasoning and argument, he must become from that moment criminal, and in the highest degree. I do not pretend to say that these principles are or are not unexceptionately just. I once thought them to be so. I am not about to justify the part I took; nay, I confess that when I bring it to the bar of prudence I am among the first to condemn it; but I cannot bring myself to regard an imprudent and a criminal action as the same. As a simple passenger (and I was not, nor had any reason to expect ever to be anything more), silence and submission became me; but as from the beginning of our civil tempest every one, even the meanest, had enjoyed the liberty of speaking, of advising, and often of directing, some grains of allowance may be, perhaps, made me, even here. I do not either justify or wholly

excuse my conduct ; but I must be that traitor to myself, which God knows I never was to my country. should I subscribe to that condemnation so outrageously passed on me by many of my countrymen, When I am charged with being in the British interest, it is implied and generally understood being in British pay ; but can anything give a stronger contradiction to this than the part I acted both before and since the writing those letters, and the distressed situation in which I have lingered out a wretched and obscure exile in this place ?

Men are not commonly disposed to set too low a value on themselves, and had I been actuated either by mercenary or ambitious views, I must have made some effectual provision to satisfy them ; but the contrary is well known. For almost eighteen months past I have lived in lodgings barely decent, without a servant, and dined at an ordinary, a stile of living which you well know I am neither accustomed or inclined to, and to which necessity alone could ever reduce me—a hard necessity, indeed—for without this rigid œconomy I must, with an only son, for whom I had a right to promise quite the reverse, have been reduced to the extremes of want ; and what has imbittered even this scanty subsistence (as if I had not already a sufficient portion of gall in my cup), I have owed the greatest part of it to a friend in Paris, who generously lent me money, and whose bills drawn on me, not, indeed, in his distress, but in his want of money, I was obliged to protest ; and they still remain unpaid, though I was long since informed of the suspicion you mention of my being in the British interest. I never could have imagined that in my situation it would have been esteemed dangerous for me to have gone to London *during a certain interesting period*, yet I find (not from the hint in your letter), but from unequivocal circumstances, that this was the case, and that some manœuvres, and of such a nature that I never could have expected them from the quarter from which they

were made, were put in motion to prevent my journey. I have no ground for vanity, but much for alarm and anxiety on this subject ; for in how dangerous a light must I be regarded, and what have I to expect in future ? How great the error and how groundless the apprehension ! You know that among the refugees in England there are many men of good abilities, of long acquaintance with the Court and Ministers, and who had ever set themselves on the side of Great Britain ; just the contrary, in every instance, is my case. Never in England, neither intimate friend or stated correspondence in the country, and even personally unknown to every one, both of the old and present administration, except a casual interview with Lord Shelburne and Mr. Townshend and Mr. Fox, in the year 1776, at dinner at a friend's house in Paris, may be called a personal acquaintance. In such a contrast to suppose me dangerous, is indeed the most extraordinary thing I ever met with ; but permit me again to assure you that I by no means infer this from the expression in your letter ; I still flatter myself that you have too good an opinion of my heart to think me the most inveterate of enemies, and you know too well the weakness of my head to regard me as one of the most dangerous, if, which God forbid, you can ever be brought to rank me as an enemy. You say that "the charges of peculation called for strict and speedy inquiry ; that you expected that I would have made a satisfactory defence against them, and that you hope so still." This passage of your letter seems to bear extremely hard on me ; if I have misapprehended your meaning, forgive me ; but it appears that you think me culpable in not having made a satisfactory defence, and therefore implicitly guilty of the charge, at least for the present, and until I do make such defence. Had the charges been direct and explicit, it would even, in that case, have been almost impossible to make a satisfactory defence whilst the party accusing refused all examination or trial ; entirely so, where no direct

or specific charges were brought. In money transactions and matters of accompt, an affirmation or the negative may be proved to demonstration by an examination, and striking the balances on the debtor or creditor side; but it is impossible to prove a negative in most such cases, and especially in mine, without a settlement. This I have for three years solicited for, to no purpose. It has not been in my power to force Congress to it, whilst it has, unfortunately for me, been in theirs to ruin me, by blasting my character with their vague and general insinuations on the subject, and denying me the only possible means to justify myself to them and before the world. You know that I never evaded a trial at any time, and have ruined my fortune in a more than three years' solicitation for it. Doctor Franklin was an eye witness of my conduct. Whilst in the public service he testified, on my quitting it, that I had been an able, active, and faithful servant. He has had my accompts before him for a long time past, and but in December last (when he was not, whatever he had been formerly, prejudiced in my favor), certified that he never had at any time the least cause to suspect my fidelity in money transactions for the public. I really know not what further negative proof could have been produced. I might have published the state of my case; printed my accompts at large; given an historical detail of the rise and grounds of every one, or of the principal articles of debtor and creditor. But this would have served no other purpose but to have thrown me back on that tempestuous ocean of newspaper litigation and abuse into which I had once suffered myself to be driven, and in which I had been shipwrecked. The bare mention of my name in a newspaper was, I knew, and have lately experienced, sufficient to set scribblers to work, to abuse me; and the torments of a contest of this kind are, like the torments of hell, endless, and to increase them the sufferer must ever be in bad company. These considerations withheld my publishing,

and they still withhold me; and, if I remember rightly, they once had your approbation. With the return of peace, I hope the public mind will regain its tranquillity, and that a cause of no more importance than mine may be heard and attended to with calmness, and decided with impartiality. I am impatient for the happy moment. I have now given up all hopes of being heard impartially, or in any shape, by Congress. I have neither hope or wish for any public employment, in any part of the world, or under any government whatever; but I do not despair of wiping off the aspersions cast on my character, and to convince the world that I merited, in some degree, your former opinion of me, that I was, to the utmost of my abilities, a valuable, a virtuous, and a patriotic man. I am sensible of the length to which I have drawn out this letter; but can neither apologize for it nor take my leave of you, until I mention that, having several private concerns at Paris, I wished to have gone there previous to my going to London. I repeatedly acquainted Doctor Bancroft with my desire, and requested him to inform me if I might do it with personal safety. His silence on this subject, in his answers to my letters, has alarmed me, and strengthened the reports sent me from various quarters that I could not make such a journey with safety. Nothing else prevented my return to Paris as soon as it was known that the previous articles between America and Great Britain were signed. My having done nothing for which I can be justly accountable in France is no security; and I am not willing to expose myself to finish my misfortunes in the Bastille, where the innocent and guilty generally meet the same fate. This has obliged me to trouble you with an affair in which two of your friends (and formerly mine) are deeply interested, and in which I have already advanced largely. The contract for masts was drawn up, and entered into with the approbation of Monsr. Gerard; he had no power to ratify it. What he could do he

did ; he recommended it to the Ministers, and gave us every possible encouragement ; but the war on our frontiers, and the loss of Penobscot, the only countries in which masts could be had to advantage, with the interception of our commerce, put it out of our power to execute it had it been confirmed, and were the causes why a confirmation of it was delayed ; for on my return from America no other objections were ever made to it. Those are now removed, and, presuming that the Court of France will not suffer their navy to be neglected during the peace, I hope the contract may take place, and be executed. We have already advanced several thousands of good money in purchase of timber, materials, &c., which will be a great loss on us, if we fail ; and that my name in the contract may not prevent its ratification, I am content that a new draught be made, and my name left out, on condition that my former fellow contractors will indemnify me solely for the monies advanced ; to which they will certainly have no objection, as the contract is a very advantageous one, and, at the same time, no way prejudicial to the interest of France, as the masts are contracted for at as low, or a lower, rate than usually furnished at in time of peace. Considering the interest of Mr. Wilson and Col. Duer in America, and the advantages to France, to form as many of these connections in America as possible, as well on political as commercial motives, I hope this favor, or rather justice, will not be refused them. I shall write to Mr. Wilson immediately on my arriving in London, and acquaint him with the step I have taken. I expect to be in London next week, and will then give you my address, that you may inform me of the answer of the Minister, and of any objections, that I may obviate them, and thus far, at least, I trust we may correspond, until you hear directly from Mr. Wilson and Col. Duer on the subject. I am ashamed, when I review this long and rambling letter, to think how much of your time and patience I have trespassed on,

but the subject and my situation must apologize for both. I am, with unabated esteem,

Your Friend,

S. DEANE.

P. S.—If Mr. Gerard is at Paris, I pray you to apply to him about the contract. He is personally knowing to all the particulars, and as an inducement to him to interest himself in the application, inform him that I have consented to have my name left out of the new contract, and that those of Mr. Wilson and Duer alone stand, or that he place any other in my place. This will, perhaps, be agreeable to him. I have many reasons to think so. The copy sent you has not Mr. Wilson's name in it, because his name was not in the original; but this can make no difference, as he may come simply in my place. Mr. Chaumont is interested in the contract. I have wrote to him by this post on the subject. As I shall carry my papers with me, if you think I ought to give a defence of my mercantile conduct whilst in Congress, to the public, you need only to hint as much to Doctor Bancroft, and I will do it immediately, by publishing an address to my countrymen, which I have long since had ready.

Hon. John Jay, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

TO EDWARD BANCROFT.

Ghent, Feb. 28th, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—I have received a letter from Mr. Jay, a very cold and formal one, indeed, more so than I could have expected from the hints you formerly gave me of his disposition towards me. I have answered him, and probably he may shew you the letter. My friendship for him has ever been disinterested, and I wished to retain it on the same terms, but I cannot

stoop to purchase it. I am surprized at receiving no letter from you in answer to mine of the 10th. I am preparing to leave this, and shall set out in the course of next week for London; direct your letter to me there, inclosed to some friend who may find me, for I have as yet no address in London, and where I shall find myself as great a stranger as if in a new world, except in point of language. I have wrote to Mr. Chaumont, and inclosed the letter open to you, which I pray you to seal, and explain to him, if he desires it, and do not fail of writing to me. I wish to meet you in London as early as possible, for to my sorrow I find that you are the same incorrigible correspondent as formerly.

I say I cannot stoop to purchase Mr. Jay's friendship. He appears, in his letter, to expect that I should acknowledge myself guilty of faults which would render me base and mean in my own eyes, and unworthy of the friendship of any man of honor. If I were guilty, I would not do it; much less when conscious of my innocence. He implicitly censures me for not having made a satisfactory defence to the charge of speculation, when he knows that Congress have always had it in their power to prevent me, and have constantly done it; he says he still expects it of me. Does he mean that I should publish the state of my case? If he does, I will think seriously of the matter, and set about it to some purpose; pray talk seriously with him on the subject. An officious man at Brussels drew me into my late scrape in the English papers, by publishing a foolish piece in my favor. I reprov'd him for it severely, and, as I am informed, he has since been so wicked and malicious as to write a long letter to the Count de Vergennes, abusing me in the most outrageous manner. Did the count know the character of the man, his letter would have no effect; but in the light I stand in France, everything, except it be in my favor, will be credited; this, with hints given me from other quarters, induces me to apprehend that I

should not be in safety in Paris ; and though my business presses me exceedingly to go to London, I would have seen you in Paris but for this circumstance, though I had remained only two days in the city ; indeed, I could not have made a much longer stay there. I wish you would inquire of Doctor Franklin on this subject, and write me, for three weeks will compleat what I have to do in London ; and as Mr. Holker is soon expected in France, I wish to avail myself of his return, to settle my affairs with Chaumont, and with Sabbatier and Desprey, &c. Can't you hasten your journey so as to be in London by the middle of March ? My compliments, &c. I have no better opinion of W. F. than when I last wrote you.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Doctor Bancroft.

Thomas Mss.

FROM THOMAS BARCLAY.

Paris, March 3d, 1783.

SIR,—I wrote you some time ago, to Brussels, informing you what Congress had done respecting the settlement of your accounts, since which I received a commission and instructions, empowering and directing me to make a settlement of all the accounts depending between the United States and their servants in Europe, as well as those of Mr. de Beaumarchais. As this seems to be an undertaking of a great deal of consequence, it will not be possible for me to enter on it until I have some time to look out for proper persons to assist me, and to settle a few matters relating to the public and to myself, so as that my whole attention may be given to this business.

I intend setting out from hence for L'Orient in about a week, and to return with my family in about six, after which I shall be ready to enter on this settle-

ment. I think it very probable that your accounts, vouchers, &c., are all in order and ready for inspection. When I see you I shall communicate such parts of my instructions as will shew you the mode in which I must proceed, and I request you will be as particular as possible in collecting every paper and authority whatever that may be necessary to throw light upon the accounts, as a very particular investigation of yours, and those of every other person whatever, will be made. I shall be glad to know, by a few lines, how the time which I have mentioned suits you, as I would endeavor to make any alteration in it for your accommodation that is in my power. I have heard that you have some intention of going to England; in which case I recommend the settlement being made after your return to France. I am, Sir,

Your Most Obt. Servant,

THOS. BARCLAY.

Please to direct for me at Mr. Grand's here.
Silas Deane, Esqr.

Thomas Mss

TO SIMEON DEANE.

London, April 1st, 1783.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I wrote you some weeks since, by the way of Paris, and as the letter was sent on under cover, by Dr. Franklin, I have no doubt of its coming to your hands, and refer you to its contents. I have since that time been detained by illness at Ghent, or should have been able to write you earlier from this place, where I arrived but two days since, and but this morning was informed by Mr. Hopkins of his intention of sailing on Sunday next, which, in the unsettled state I still am, prevents my being so particular as I could wish. I intended to have come over to England immediately on the signing the preliminaries of peace between America and Great Britain,

but I found that it would give some jealousy to the commissioners at Paris, and therefore I sacrificed my wishes and interest to their apprehensions ; at length they had no objection, and I quitted Flanders. I have been here for so short a space, that I have almost literally seen nobody, nor come to any resolution as to my future proceedings. Americans are flocking from all quarters of Europe to London, as to a center ; and I fear that you will have more goods in a short time than you will be able to make remittances for. Mr. Hopkins tells me that he has goods for you. If you send for more, you may do as well to advise me of it, as I presume that I can put you into as good hands as he is capable of doing. I shall remain here no longer than to settle, if practicable, an old affair, and to send out my son, who is now ill in the country, of a swelling in his neck, the return, I fear, of that disorder which afflicted him in his infancy. This is indeed a gloomy reflection, to think that the son may be as unfortunate in his health as the father in his fortunes ; but I submit, and, I flatter myself, with some degree of philosophic fortitude to ills which I can neither prevent or avoid.

Peace, I hope, will as effectually set all things right in our country as it has thrown everything into confusion in this. The Ministers who made the peace have been forced to resign, and none have as yet been found to take their places. The great parties, which are three, divide the nation between them, and render the king a meer cypher, whilst they inveterate to each other, and, no one of them so powerful as to bear down the other two, throw everything into confusion by their contests for power. This is the political state of this country, which, from the factions of an overbearing aristocracy, is in danger of some violent revolution in favor either of democracy or monarchy. As soon as I shall have settled the affair which more immediately brought me over, and send off my son and Mr. Sebor for America. I shall return to Paris, where

I have some hopes of settling my old affairs in some shape, though not without great loss. I shall write you again in a few days, by a ship bound for Boston, and may by that time be able to be explicit on several subjects which I cannot enter on at present. Make my compliments to the few who remember me so far as to inquire after me; to our sister in particular; and as you will now have many and frequent opportunities for writing, pray omit none of them. Direct your letters to London, under cover to Mr. Fred. Wm. Geyer, merchant, London. I cannot take it kind of you to remit money to another to lay out for you, whilst I was in Europe. This is not treating me as I have treated you from your youth to this time. But I am become accustomed to hard things, yet cannot be insensible under them, especially from a brother. I hope you will not lose by your adventure, but think it hardly possible that you should gain much by it. If my advice is of any weight with our great men in Connecticut, let them liquidate and apportion the public debt, without loss of time, and let each State take its proportion and manage its own revenues. The great object with Congress is to make a common purse or treasury, to be supplied by imports, duties, &c., laid by themselves, and collected and disposed of by officers of their appointing, independant of the several legislatures; but if our assembly are wise, and mean to be in fact independant, they will never submit to a system which will prove as fatal in its consequences as that which we have happily opposed. No; let each State guard well the strings of its own purse, and admit no officers of excise or any order of men into it but what shall be of their own appointment, and under their control. Immense quantities of goods, especially of the linen kind, are shipped and shipping for America; and I shall not be surprised to hear that many articles are below first cost in America. You will, therefore, do well to be cautious how you venture too generally and too deeply. As I have several let-

ters to write by this vessel, and shall write again in a few days, I bid you adieu for the present, and am,

Dear Brother, Yours &c.,

S. DEANE.

If you write to France, address to the care of Doctor Franklin, or of Mr. Grand, banker.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

TO JAMES WILSON.

London, April 1st, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—I need make no apology for my long silence, which business only could or ought to break, and I have had nothing on that head so interesting to you as to merit your attention. The situation of affairs in America on my leaving it, and for some time after, was such that it was impossible to procure the masts without an armed protection, and, when procured, to be sent to Europe without a convoy, neither of which was in our power; and when I applied for a confirmation of the contract I was constantly told that altho' no material objection lay against the terms, yet it was to no purpose to ratify a contract which it was not in our power to execute, at least at the time, and that when our cargoes arrived, and had been examined, it would be the proper time to close the contract. In this situation the affair was when I left France. As to the Spanish contract, Mr. Jay could not give me the least encouragement. I wrote repeatedly to Doctor Franklin, and urged him, not on my own account, but yours and the others interested, to obtain some resolution of the Minister on the subject; but he, as well as the Court, had objects of so much greater importance to attend to that nothing was done. As soon as the preliminaries of peace were signed I wrote to the Commissioners, that is, to Doctor Franklin and Mr. Jay, and acquainted them of my

intention to go to London, provided they had no objection. They said there was none, but advised me to defer my journey for a few weeks. I did so, and have been in London but a few days. Before I left Ghent I wrote to Mr. Jay at large the state of the contract, and as France will keep her marine and the stores essential to it in a respectable state in future, there could no longer remain any objection to the contract, unless my being named and interested in it was one, and to obviate that I empowered him to draw the contract anew, to exclude me, and to put your name in place of mine, confident that you would do me justice and indemnify me. I also wrote to every other person with whom I had any remains of interest, and who I thought had any at Court, to give all the assistance in their power on the subject. I told Mr. Jay in my letter that I should write to you as soon as I got to London, and inform you and those interested of the present state of that affair. You have interest with Mons. Luzerne and with others who have interest at Court. I can but hope that you may succeed, and am confident that you will do me justice. I could not do anything with the Illinois lands during the war, and now, when much might be done with them, if a tolerable chance for a title appeared, I dare not venture to attempt anything, on account of the total ignorance I am in both as to the proceedings of the company since I left America, and as to what measures the public may take respecting the Western lands in general. I have therefore made no use of the power and grants put into my hands by the company. But if the company are resolved to proceed, I can dispose of the grants and procure settlers without difficulty from this country and from Germany, as the rage for emigration is universal in all the northern parts of Europe. France, indeed, restricts her subjects, but if they were at liberty they are perhaps the worst materials in Europe for building of a new State with; the bold and adventurous spirit of the English, Scotch, and Irish, and the

patient, laborious, and persevering genius of the Germans, give them the preference to all other nations in the planting and cultivating a new country. I have been in town but four or five days only, and am only beginning to form an acquaintance in a country in which I had none previous to my arrival in it, except what was merely accidental, by meeting with gentlemen on their travels on the Continent, in France, Flanders, etc.; but as there will be almost daily opportunities for writing to Philadelphia, I shall improve them whenever anything occurs that may merit your attention, and letters from you, directed to care of Doctor Franklin, or Mr. Grand, banker, at Paris, or to Mr. F. W. Geyer, merchant, in London, will come safe to my hands.

You will learn the strangely confused state of public affairs here from the public papers, and from individuals going out; but, in one word, three powerful factions divide the nation; no two of them are willing to unite, and no one of them is so strong as to bear down the other two; and all of them have the same objects in view, power and emoluments. The three parties are: the Bedford, Rockingham, and the Country Gentlemen. Lord Shelburne leads the Bedford, Mr. Fox the Rockingham, and Lord North the Country party. Royal power and prerogative are nearly annihilated, whilst the contest between the parties threatens a revolution in favor either of monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy. At present an aristocracy is predominant, but divided it may finally give way to one of the other. This is, in a few words, the general state of politics in this country. God grant that the peace may produce in our country just the reverse to what it has occasioned in this. The commerce of this country has not suffered any way materially during the war; the reports have been annually increasing, and such are the present demands from every quarter that the manufacturers are unable to answer them, and goods of most kinds have rose near ten per cent. within a month past. Our

countrymen are collecting here, as to a center, from different parts of Europe, and such quantities of goods are shipped and shipping for America that I shall not be surprized to hear that they are sold cheaper in Philadelphia than in London.

I flatter myself that though we may have been of different sentiments as to politics at a certain period, when viewing the state of our public affairs partially, and through a gloomy medium, in which I was unfortunately involved, I was led to form erroneous conclusions; yet that this circumstance will not prevent our correspondence in future, or our rendering to each other such good offices as may lie in our power.

The best branch of business in America, next to that of your profession, and of which you are so great a master, is that of adventuring in lands, and procuring inhabitants to settle them; and if I can be of any service to you and to your friends, and at the same time to myself in that way, you will lay me under the greatest of obligations by giving me your orders. During my unfortunate voyage to America, and since my return, I have suffered a compleat shipwreck of fortune, and am trying to pick up some of the scattered and broken parts to begin anew with; and shall in my future course, being taught by dear bought experience, avoid politics with as much care as the seamen of old did Scylla and Charybdis. Those brave men, our officers and soldiers, who have literally borne the burthen, as well as the fatigues and dangers, of the day, must be provided for in some degree, at least, equal to their merits. Can there be any method so easy, so little burthensome to the states at large for the present, and so advantageous to all parties in future, as to grant them, and that most liberally, a territory somewhere to the westward, that shall be at once adequate to their arrearages and to their future half pay promised them, and to advance them provisions and materials of every kind sufficient to the transporting them and their families, and settling them on the

lands granted? This will be an act of justice and of sound policy; it will draw out from the main body those adventurous spirits which will occasion uneasiness if they remain in the general mass, and give them employ well suited to their temper. So considerable an emigration will not weaken the old states, as the European emigrations will immediately more than supply their place; and such a capital settlement will secure the frontiers of the other states, enlarge the circle of our commerce and connection, and give an immediate and an increasing value to those immense tracts of lands conferred to us by the peace, in which there is room enough for every prudent man to make great advantages to himself without doing injury to any one. This is too obvious to have escaped your attention, and I ought, perhaps, to ask pardon for mentioning what you must be so much the more master of than I can pretend to be; but I do it from motives of personal interest, as well as from a wish to promote that of the public. I am now literally in the situation of our great predecessor, when Milton says: "The World was all," &c.; but tho' I have a firm belief in a superintending Providence, yet I have need of such a guide as you, and if you will condescend to act as the deputy of Providence towards me, I shall have a double security for the future. I expect to return to Paris in about six weeks, where I have some hopes of settling my accounts with the public, after which I shall be free to enter on any plan that may appear a rational one, and the Illinois or the Wabash will be as agreeable to me as any other country. I will not trespass any further on your patience, only to pray you to write not only to me, but to Mr. Jay and to Doctor Franklin, on the subject of the mast contract; and particularly to me on that of the Western lands, what measures are likely to be taken, and if I can be of any service in promoting them in Europe or on the spot.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. James Wilson.

Thomas Mss.

WILLIAM GORDON TO ARTHUR LEE.

Jamaica Plain, April 2d, 1783.

* * * To the last [letter] I can expect no answer till the next week, it having been sent only a fortnight; one side of the sheet contained a curious extract from the London *Courant* of January the 10th, being a letter of commendation to President Laurens in favor of Silas Deane, when the latter returned to Philadelphia, and a certificate signed the middle of last December by Doctor Franklin in behalf of the said Deane's honesty in his mercantile transactions for Congress, to remove impressions that might be made upon the public by some charges printed against him.

* * * * *

Lee's Life of Arthur Lee, II. 290.

TO BARNABAS DEANE.

London, April 5th, 1783.

DEAR BROTHER,—I wrote you a few days since, by Mr. Hopkins, and as I presume my letters are no longer contraband, it will come safely to your hands, and therefore need not to repeat anything I said in my last. I have since seen my son, who is miserably weak and low. His old disorder has attacked him in his neck, which swelled to a prodigious degree, and has been opened. Since the operation he has been mending his health, tho' but slowly.

Americans—those who have been the most zealous against all future connections or commerce with Great Britain—are daily arriving in this capital, from their dispersions in the different parts of Europe, and exerting the utmost of their credit to ship out goods, many articles of which must, in a few months, become cheaper with you than in this city. If my son continues to mend, I purpose sending him out to America

in about a month or six weeks from this time. I have nothing material to write you at present ; but will not let any opportunity pass unimproved, and hope for the same attention from you. As to the political state of this country—you will see it in the newspapers—a change of Ministers has now taken place compleatly ; and if any administration in a country so torn by parties can be a stable one, this bids fair to be such. I expect to return to Paris in the course of the month of May ; but you may direct your letters either to care of Doctor Franklin, at Paris, or to Mr. Frederick William Geyer, merchant, London, and they will come safe to my hands. I have no time to add to this, as the vessel is on the point of sailing, except it be my compliments to those who remember me with any degree of friendship, and love to sister. I am,
Dear Brother,

Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Barnabas Deane, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

TO THOMAS BARCLAY.

London, April 7th, 1783.^{f.}

SIR,—Your letter of the 3d, of March, I know not by what accident, never came to hand until the day before I left Ghent, and I thought it best not to acknowledge the receipt of it until I arrived in London ; and for the ten days that I have been here, I have been too much engaged. By your letter I presume that you will soon be in Paris, and therefore I wish to meet you as early as possible. You say that “when you see me you will communicate such parts of your instructions as will shew me the mode in which you are to proceed.” You will much oblige me, and probably forward the settlement, by communicating what you

propose by letter, as I shall by that means know if my accompts are stated in the manner expected or not, and prepare to comply, as far as possible, with the mode prescribed, whatever it may be. Please to direct to me, in Fleet Street, No. 135.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Thomas Barclay, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

TO ROBERT BARCLAY.

London, April 8th, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—I should have wrote to you earlier, but the uncertain state of everything respecting the politics and commerce of this country held me in suspence; and though a Ministry is at last formed, it will be some days before anything definitive can be done on the subject of American commerce; in the meantime several ships are loading for America, and three or four have already sailed; yet I think that Mr. Peters may do well if he adventures on the plan which was proposed, especially if to make out his cargo he should order a certain quantity of woollens from this country to Ostend. My reason for this is that the cargoes already gone, and those going, are chiefly summer goods, and if his ship sails in May she will not arrive too early for the sales of cloths for the fall and winter consumption. I must, therefore, pray you to see Mr. Peters on the subject, and write me by the first post what his determination is; for if his ship sails in May I shall as readily freight some goods in her as in any one, but as yet I have not had time to look around me so far as to come to any resolution on the subject. I lodge in Fleet Street, No. 135, but you may inclose your letter to Mr. Barclay, as he honors my address, and the letter may come safer by that means. My

compliments to Mr. Tickell and to Mrs. Barclay, with my best wishes.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Robert Barclay.

Thomas Mss.

FROM THOMAS BARCLAY.

Paris, April 15th, 1783.

SIR,—I am favored with your letter of the 7th, by which I observe you wish to meet me at Paris as soon as convenient. I have, since I wrote to you at Ghent, been very much reduced by a fever and rheumatism, which rendered me incapable of writing, or attending to anything else. I shall set out for L'Orient in about a week, and will return, I expect, so as to enter on the settlement of the public accounts, perhaps by the 1st June; but I think there are some that there will be a necessity of attending to before yours, in order to make the settlement of it the more regular. The principal matter to be attended to, I believe, will be to make a proper arrangement under distinct heads of the account, and an examination of the vouchers and authorities relative to the transactions. It will therefore be very necessary that you bring with you every voucher and paper of consequence that you are possessed of respecting your accounts. Perhaps it may not be in my power to open the office for the settlement of the accounts so soon as the 1st June, as the public business may require my attendance another way at that time, in which case I shall give you the necessary information; but you may depend on it that not a day shall be lost on my part. I am, Sir,

Your most Obt., Humble Servt.,

THOMAS BARCLAY.

Silas Deane, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

FROM EDWARD BANCROFT.

[Paris,] April 16th, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am very sorry to hear of your, and your son's, illness. I hope you are both perfectly recovered before this time. Mr. Barclay has shewn me your letter to him. He has been for some weeks very ill, under my care. He is now recovering, and in a few days will probably be able to set out, and proceed by moderate journeys, to Nantes, and from thence to L'Orient, from whence he means to return here, with his wife and family; but this, and the fixing himself afterwards in a suitable house, &c., so as to enter upon business, will require, at least, two months; and I am persuaded he will not be ready to enter upon an examination of the public accounts in much less than three. It is true that I did expect to have been by this time in London, but a multitude of considerations have made it expedient for me to alter my plan, and, instead of returning hither, to finish all my business here *first*, and then go to London, and from thence directly to Philadelphia. I do not, therefore, think it will be possible for me to be in England until about the 15th, or 20th, of May. If this delay occasions you any inconvenience, it will give me great concern; but unless you have reasons which I know nothing of, for wishing to be here sooner, I don't think you need be in haste. Mr. Laurens is just arrived, and Mr. Hartley is expected in a few days, to settle the definitive treaty, which I suppose will take up some time. Mr. Jay would otherwise have been now on the way to London, but this business will keep him back until it is finished; and I suppose you have no great wish to meet your old antagonists, Adams, Laurens, &c., *here*, at this *period*, when it would be impossible for you to make any progress in settling your own affairs with the public. Mr. Barclay has promised me to communicate to you such parts of his instructions

as concern your business, and I hope he will do it by this post. We have had no arrival from any part of the United States these two or three months, and consequently know nothing of the state of things *there; and here* there is little doing at present. Pray tell Mr. W. that I am astonished at his *obstinate* silence, and shall write to him no more until some little notice is taken of my letters. Adieu.

[EDWARD BANCROFT.]

To S. Deane, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

TO ISAAC MOSES.

London, April 29th, 1783.

SIR,—I have received but two letters from you since my sailing from America, and Mr. Myers tells me that you had received none from me, at which, though I wrote you several, I am no way surprized. In my letters to you I made use of the cypher agreed on between us, and it has been the constant practice of certain gentlemen, who have made it their business to intercept my letters, to destroy those of them which they could not decypher. Of more than twenty letters of mine to my brothers, not one reached them, though they arrived safe in Philadelphia. Mr. Myers tells me that he brought letters for me from you, but left them at Amsterdam, not expecting to meet with me here; and as he was ignorant of their contents, I can say nothing to them at present. I wish to know what is the final determination of the Illinois Company as to a settlement of those lands. The unfortunate circumstances which have attended me since my leaving America have put it out of my power to do anything of consequence in the way of trade, had the prospect been ever so favorable, which in my opinion it is not; for you will have an inundation of goods, and, I fear,

but scanty means of remittance, except it be in cash or bills. Had you been informed in season of the peace, wheat and flour would have been good articles for a cargo here ; but the Baltic is now open, and wheat is falling in price, and will probably very soon be at its usual rate. The prohibitory acts are repealed, but being deprived of the former bounties, and made subject to the same duties as those paid by other nations, I fear that many of the articles formerly remitted to this country without loss will not answer at present. But a negotiation is going on at Paris for a treaty of commerce between this country and America, the result of which will soon be known, and possibly such a composition may be made as will remove every obstacle to the free and unlimited commerce of the two countries. As Mr. Myers will naturally give you the state of commercial affairs, it is unnecessary for me to say anything on a subject with which he is so much better acquainted. I have still the Loan Office Certificates by me, and must pray you to send me your orders what to do with yours and your friend Mr. H.'s share in them, and your opinion as to their being overpaid, and at what rate, as well as in what time. It is pretended here that Congress have made a second bankruptcy, and in this last have formally declared to the public their inability to pay the demands on them for past supplies and services, or to raise money for the future, and that in consequence of this state of their affairs Mr. Morris resigned. I doubt not but these accounts are exaggerated, and trust that peace will put things on a better footing. I am of opinion that for some time to come, at least, speculations in good and well-situated lands, and in some other adventures, will be preferable to the dry good business ; and as you are interested in the Illinois, I hope that you will not fail to let me know if anything can be done in that affair, and if in that or any other concern I can be of service you will let me know. If you write to France, address your letters to me to care of

Mr. Grand, at Paris, where I expect to be in a few weeks.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Isaac Moses, Phil.

Thomas M.

TO JOHN PETERS.

London, May 16th, 1783.

SIR,—I received yours of the 25th, April, with a letter inclosed for Messrs. Livingston & Co., to be forwarded by me on perusal of your letter, and of that to Mr. Livingston. I cannot think it for your interest to send it on, and therefore return it to you inclosed. There is not the least probability, and scarcely a possibility, that your proposal should be complied with by Mr. Livingston under the present circumstances of American commerce. Tobacco, rice, and every other article in the United States which will answer in the European markets are now in great demand in all the ports in America for immediate payment for goods offered for sale. No merchant, therefore, who has rice on hand, or can purchase it, will ship it to Europe or a consignment, as you propose, and Mr. Livingston would think it very strange in me to recommend such a plan of business. You inform me that you intend to write to the other house whose address I gave you. If you do, I pray you to send your letters direct from Ostend, or through the channel of your correspondents here, as I am uncertain how long I may remain in London; and permit me to advise you to write on thinner paper, as postage is excessive dear in this country. I cannot flatter you that anything can be done in the way you propose, of sending over foreign cargoes to be consigned; for the country is full of European goods, with but few articles in hand to pay for them; consequently, all American produce will for

some time to come be disposed of there for the goods wanted, and nothing purchased without goods or cash in hand. If you had sent out the cargo I proposed in time, with some articles from this country not as yet run upon by the merchants here, I still think that you might have done well, nor is it perhaps too late; but as you cannot procure a ship for the voyage, it cannot take effect. If in anything I can be of service, shall gladly receive your commands.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. John Peters, Ghent.

Thomas Mss.

TO THOMAS BARCLAY.

London, June 30th, 1783.

SIR.—I was disappointed in not receiving any advice from you, by Doctor Bancroft, on the subject of my accompts, and must, therefore, pray you to inform me by letter when you will be ready to enter on the examination and settlement of them; also, that you will let me know what your instructions are relative to them, that I may (if not already) be properly prepared to comply with them. As a copy of my accompt has been transmitted to Congress, and was before them when they gave you your instructions, it is probable that if they had any objections to the charges, they must have taken notice of them; and my being made acquainted with the nature of them will tend to expedite the settlement, as it will enable me to explain whatever may appear doubtful or exceptionable. I must also pray you to inform me if you have instructions to make a final settlement, and to pay the balance, whatever it may be, found to be in my favor. I presume that it cannot be thought either improper or unreasonable in me to ask this information of you,

previous to our entering on an examination, and I doubt not you will oblige me with it.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Thomas Barclay, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

HENRY LAURENS TO ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Bath, July 17th, 1783.

* * * I WAS informed yesterday (and though by pretty good authority, I speak only as from report) that Mr. Silas Deane, who has been in London about four months, has been an active hand in chalking out a treaty of commerce for us. I shall know more of this when I get to London some ten days hence. I have not yet fully recovered my health, but am nevertheless taking measures for embarking early in October.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

HENRY LAURENS.

Hon. Robt. R. Livingston.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., VI. 555.

TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

London, July 20th, 1783.

SIR,—I have been very credibly inform'd that the Count de Vergennes and others at Versailles have lately expressed great resentment against me personally, which gives me the greatest uneasiness, on account of my personal safety at Paris, where I wish to be to adjust and settle my accompts, the best foundation for me to expect justice from on other respects. I therefore request of you to inform me by a letter if I may rely on being personally safe and unmolested in France and at Paris whilst necessarily detained.

there on the settlement of my accompts. I shall dispatch the business as soon as possible, and hope it will be without my giving the least offence to any one. I am extremely sorry to have cause to trouble you on this occasion ; but with strong prejudices against me, both in America and in France, and without protectors or patrons to apply to, I am obliged to do it, and presume that you will see the propriety of my precaution and request.

I have the honor to be, with the most sincere respect and esteem,

Your most obedt. and very humble servt.,

S. DEANE.

His Excellency B. Franklin, Esq.

Holbrooke Mss.

TO JAMES WILSON.

London, July 24th, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you the 5th, of April last, on the affair of the mast contract, and also about the Illinois lands, but am still without any of your favors. I have been told that the French Ministers have given the contract to a gentleman in New England. This, if true, must put an end to all our expectations. Before I left Ghent I wrote to Mr. Jay, and prayed him to solicit for the contract on your and on Col. Duer's account, and to leave me wholly out of the question. I wrote to Mr. Chaumont to the same purpose, but cannot learn that any thing has been done. If, therefore, you have no better prospect in America, through the French Minister there, I must conclude that the affair is intirely at an end, and the sooner a settlement of our disbursements can be made the better. You know how much was advanced by me on the contract entered into by you and Col. Bird, in addition to which I paid Col. Duer my share of his expences. I must, therefore, intreat you to settle the whole affair,

and pay my brother, Mr. B. Deane of Hartford, the sum which I advanced you and Col. Bird, and as that gentleman has had the use of the money, I presume that he cannot object to a repayment at the rate of exchange at which paper was at the time when he received it. In this act of justice I shall be the more sensibly obliged, as my present necessities are more urgent than I can well or with prudence describe in a letter. There is at this time a general spirit for emigration from Europe to America, which I think ought to be improved by the Wabash and Illinois proprietors, to settle their lands, and to render them valuable. I have been repeatedly applied to on the continent, and since my being in England; but my total ignorance of the resolutions of the company since my leaving America, as well as of their present disposition, has prevented my doing any thing either with my own interest, or with the shares put into my hands by the company for sale in Europe. I must, therefore, ask of you to acquaint the proprietors with this state of their interest, so far as it has been committed to my management; and hope they will either give me the present state of the company, and what their resolutions are. If to proceed and to prosecute the plan agreed on when I left Philadelphia, I will exert myself in executing their orders, if sent to me; or if to any other person, will give him all the information and assistance in my power. It clearly appears to me that the two great future objects in America must be the settlement and cultivation of good lands and the establishment of manufactures. If we review the rise and progress of private fortunes in America, we shall find that a very small proportion of them have arisen or been acquired by commerce, compared with those made by prudent purchases and management of lands; and however greatly I may differ in opinion from most of my countrymen, I can but say that every day's experience and observation confirms me in it, that, for a long period to come, commerce will not be so

profitable to individuals in America as it formerly was. I should exceed the bounds of a letter were I to attempt to give the reasons at large on which I have formed my opinion on this subject. It is indeed no ways necessary that I should do it, since, even if commerce should, contrary to my expectation, prove more lucrative in future than what it has heretofore been, it will not diminish, but increase, the value of lands; and if, on the contrary, from the want of staple articles in all the northern parts of America for the European markets, and from the restrictions which all the maritime powers in Europe interested in the West Indies appear disposed to lay on those markets, our means of remittance should be so circumscribed and diminished as to lessen our commerce, and to render it less advantageous than formerly, our attention must, necessarily, be turned to agriculture and manufactures, the great and fruitful, as well as permanent, sources of the real wealth of any country, and the only solid foundation for commerce and riches to rise and to rest on. I have for some time flattered myself that my peculiar, I may say isolated, situation, regarded in America as one unfriendly to the independence of my country, become extremely obnoxious in France, and without patron, friend, or correspondant in this country, would have permitted me, for some time, at least, to have remained in silence and obscurity; but my expectations have been disappointed on both sides the water. I see that in the party disputes in America, in which I am no way interested, my name is drawn in; and on this side, certain persons, mischievously disposed, to keep alive prejudices against me in the United States, have inserted in all the public papers here that I attend the levee of Ministers, and am intimate with them, and their adviser in their measures respecting our commerce. I have already enough, perhaps too much, to explain or to answer for, without adding to the score; and I can, with the greatest truth and sincerity, assure you that from the time I parted with

you in Philadelphia until my arrival in this city, in March last, I never saw or corresponded with any of the Ministers of this country, or any one person in the service of government ; and since my arrival here, to this time, have not seen or spoken with any Minister, or friend of Ministers, or with any one in their service or confidence, except by accident and in company. During the sitting of Parliament, I was once only in the gallery of the House of Commons, and once to hear an interesting debate in the House of Lords. My curiosity would, indeed, have carried me there often, but as it was each time inserted in all the next morning papers, with comments on it, I declined going again ; and except Lord North and Mr. Fox, who are of such a striking figure that once seen they must ever after be recognised at first view, I do not know any one of the Ministers, even by sight. Had my conduct been different, I could have no interest to dissemble it, or, indeed, to say any thing on the subject ; for whenever I take a decided part, it must be from conviction of the justice of it ; and then, though I may be in an error at the time, I am ever free to declare my sentiments, and the grounds of them, and to acknowledge and retract my errors when convinced of them. I do not make this declaration to you to obviate the unfavorable sentiments which you may entertain of my past conduct in freely communicating to my countrymen my opinion of our public situation, and of what at the time appeared to me to be our true interest, so much as to prevent your increasing them by being led to believe me to be acting here unfavorably to the interests of our country, or to be courting or intriguing with the authors of our late calamities. I trust that suspicious times are drawing to a close, and that we may yet see days of confidence and good humour return ; and presuming that this and my future letters to America will be suffered to pass unopened and unintercepted, I write thus freely and without reserve. And to return to the subject of lands, I must repeat my

request to hear from the company as early as possible, and to receive their orders ; and whether they shall be to proceed on the former, or on any new plan, or to do nothing further in the affair, they shall be complied with by me. If with public we are blessed with private and internal peace, if past errors and misapprehensions are forgiven and buried in oblivion, and mutual confidence and harmony restored, no man will more sincerely rejoice on the happy event than myself, though my circumstances may for some time prevent my being personally a sharer in those blessings ; but if (which God forbid) the contrary should be the case, I shall then be indeed extremely unhappy, & shall be tempted to seek for some place of retreat in the interior parts of America, for I can never feel that attachment to any part of Europe which I have for every part of North America. We have no certainty as yet of the near conclusion of the general definitive treaty, nor in what stage our commercial one with this country at present is. All that we are told is that the negotiations are going on, & in a good train ; but the funds of this country have sunk amazingly within a month past, owing (in my opinion) more to the present general scarcity of specie in every part of Europe than to any well-grounded apprehensions of a renewal of hostilities or of a public bankruptcy. The latter the nation as yet cannot be bro't to think of ; & though it may probably one day happen, it is an event least of all to be wished for by the enemies of this country. A bankruptcy, or a sponging out of the capital of the public debt, would put government in the possession of an annual revenue of nine millions st'g, a sum sufficient to support a maritime war without new taxes ; & as to a renewal of hostilities between the powers lately at war, there appears to me no probability of it. But whatever may happen, I trust that we shall have too much good sense to commit ourselves in any of the future contests in Europe. I have been greatly surprised and alarmed

at, what you must, indeed, by this time, be better acquainted with than I am, the claims of Spain to East Louisiana, and consequently of the exclusive right of the navigation of the Mississippi, and that France has attempted to support these extravagant demands. I can hardly conceive that Spain can be in earnest in the making, or France in supporting, them; and I am confident that Congress will not, under any circumstances, agree to the giving up the best part of our country, and thereby expose us to a new war, which must be the case if the Spaniards are not confined to the western banks of the Mississippi, to which alone they have any shadow of an equitable claim. You must excuse this long letter, and impute it to my sincere respect for you, and the satisfaction it gives me to converse with you, though on paper only. I sat down with the intention of writing solely on the business I am with you interested in, and have been insensibly carried on through two sheets, when one page might have answered; but this will be delivered you by a private hand, and will cost you nothing but the time spent in reading it. My best wishes attend you, and am, with sincere esteem, Sir,

Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

My address is Sir Rt. Harries, or to Mr. Grand, at Paris.

Hon. James Wilson, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

TO ISAAC MOSES.

London, July 25th, 1783.

SIR,—I wrote you the beginning of April, but have not been favored with any of yours. Mr. Myers told me that he brought letters from you for me, and had left them at Amsterdam, but I know not how they

have never come to my hands. As I presume that you will in future have no business in Europe but what will pass through his hands, I write at present to intreat that you would transmit me your account by the first ship, and a duplicate of it to my brother at Wethersfield, whom I have empowered to settle it ; also that you will inform me if anything has been, or is like to be done as to the Illinois or Wabash lands. It is certainly unwise to let the present moment pass unimproved, whilst such numbers are emigrating from every part of Europe to settle in America. The definitive treaty is not as yet concluded, nor a commercial one between us and this country, so that we are at present in a state of a truce rather than of peace, and stocks have fell surprisingly within these few weeks past ; but to me there appears no probability of a recommencement of hostilities between any of the powers lately at war, and at any rate I hope that we shall not meddle in any of their future quarrels, though I confess there is some danger from the extravagant demands of Spain, who claims nothing less than all the country on the east of the Mississippi ; but I trust she will not persist in so extravagant a demand, and that if she should we shall never agree to it. We have nothing new, either foreign or domestic, but are impatiently expecting the definitive treaty to be finished. All kinds of manufactures have arose in this country since the peace, larger orders being received than the workmen can answer, though not one third of the quantity usually shipped to America before the war have been sent out this season. Tobacco is low, and falling ; wheat and flour has also fell ; and there is a prospect of the greatest harvest known in the country for many years past. Pot ash is from 35 shillings to 40 shillings per hundred weight, but subject to a duty, like all foreign ashes, of about 60 the hundred weight ; best Swedish iron, £18 to 19 per ton, but all foreign iron is subject to the enormous duty of 56 shillings per ton. Bounties taken off, and duties

coming in their place, will, I fear, hurt our remittances to this country, but perhaps the commissioners will be able to arrange these to good advantage in the commercial treaty; otherways we must seek other markets for almost every article which we used to bring here. Indeed, in looking over the prices current, I find nothing, except it be pipe, staves, spars, and masts, and other lumber, and rice, which will answer. Tar, pitch, and turpentine are falling in prices, and the duty is heavy. Before this arrives you will have seen the proclamation respecting the West India trade, which I trust will be only temporary, and in force only until the signing of the commercial treaty, or until the next meeting of Parliament at farthest. I have not nor ever had the least acquaintance or correspondence with any of the Ministers of this country, notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary in America, and therefore can form no judgment what their future measures may be; but the general temper of the nation is to keep the whole of their carrying or freight business to themselves, and, as formerly, to permit no foreigners to have any concern in it; but a little time and experience will regulate this, and I hope in our favor. Wishing you success and prosperity,

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Isaac Moses.

Thomas Mss.

TO BARNABAS DEANE.

London, July 25th, 1783.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I received yours of the — & 9th, of June past, as the communication is now open and direct. I hope to hear frequently from you, and that my letters will no longer be regarded as contraband, and at the mercy of every rascal, either in or out of office, whose curiosity or malice may lead him to

intercept them. You say that you have received no letter from me since October, 1781. I wrote many since that time ; three of them were sent to America, inclosed by Doctor Franklin, and, therefore, must have been intercepted by those in America who received the Doctor's dispatches, and who they are you know too well to inquire, as their conduct is all of it of a piece, and uniform. I received a letter from Governor Trumbull in answer to mine, and wrote a reply, which I resolved should close our correspondence forever ; but on reflection I suppressed it, judging it as well to let the matter rest where it was, and laid by the letter. This gentleman says in his letter that sooner than consent to be reconciled with Great Britain on the terms which I proposed, he would expend all the present property of America, and mortgage all the future. His letter, with this and such mad-like expressions in it, was read before the General Assembly, and, as he tells me, was approved of by them ; and I doubt not but that he acquired much credit with my honest and well-meaning countrymen on the occasion, who little thought that this flaming patriot, this virtuous and devout Governor, the very Cato of our Senate, was many thousands sterling worse than nothing, and had not one shilling of estate free from mortgages at the commencement of the war ; that he had been indebted to the lenity of his creditors in this country even for his personal liberty ; and that when he wrote that letter, and made such high professions of patriotism and honor, he had taken the advantage of the Tender Law, and rewarded the kindness and generosity of his creditors here, by wronging and defrauding them of nearly the whole, eventually the same as the whole, of their just demands. But this is an honorable man and a patriot, that is, in the stile and currency of the day ; but when disguises and painted coverings come to be stripped off, when the clouds and dust of the moment come to dissipate and subside, and calm reason and impartial justice resume their empire, and try men and their actions by

the touchstone of moral justice and rectitude, then the characters of such men will be as fully known and as severely reprobated as now they are disguised and ignorantly admired. I bear the Governor no resentment of any kind. I have no cause. He never injured me that I know of, and I have met with many friendly offices from him, the remembrance of which more than anything else prevented my transmitting to him, and through him to the General Assembly, my observations and comments on his letter to me. We have now peace abroad, and I most devoutly pray that we may enjoy it at home, and that no one of the evils which my gloomy apprehensions in an hour of uncommon misfortunes and distress foreboded may ever be realized ; but that internal peace and unanimity in the United States, and the increase of arts, agriculture, and commerce, under a regular, harmonious, and firm system of laws and government, may demonstrate to the present and future ages how very groundless my predictions were. I have received four, or at most five, only of your letters since my leaving France. In all of them you appear to be in want of time or disposition to enter into any detail of the particulars of what you must be sensible I am very anxious to be informed. You are at Hartford still concerned with Col. Wadsworth in business, and have met with some good and some ill-fortune ; this is the substance of all your letters. But what you have done with my house and furniture, with my lands ; what settlement you have made with Isaac Moses, if any ; what demand on Mr. Reed, late President of Pennsylvania, for the money which he owes me, and what his reply ; what you have done with Col. Duer ; or, in short, in any of my affairs, you are wholly silent. I advanced to Col. Duer and Mr. Wilson about twelve thousand pounds when paper was at nine, or at most ten for one, on the contract for masts. Mr. Wilson, jointly with Col. Bird, became accountable for it. The design for which the money was advanced was never executed, nor the money laid out by them,

to my knowledge, on any account of mine. I have wrote to Mr. Wilson on the subject, and requested of him to account to you therefor; and as I have always esteemed him to be strictly a man of honor, I hope he will not fail to do it. As to Col. Duer, I can say nothing. I have bonds and mortgages assigned me on Mr. Samuel Wharton of Philadelphia, and on Major Trent of Trenton, New Jersey, for about two thousand pounds sterling. The bonds and mortgage deeds I shall send out in a few days by Doctor Bancroft, with a power to you to recover the money. I have repeatedly urged you to sell my furniture and lands in Wethersfield, and now again urge you to do it, and to remit me as early as possible whatever can be raised on my account; for I am in extreme want of money, so much that unless you can supply me with two or three hundred pounds in season this fall I shall be greatly distressed, and unable to make good a small engagement which I am entering into for some articles to send out by Mr. Sebor and my son, who is so far recovered as to venture on a voyage to America to try his native air; though I have no hopes that anything will give him what by nature he is radically defective in, a good constitution.

You know the favorable prospects with which I left America. On my arrival in France they all vanished like an unsubstantial dream, and left me scarcely even any piece of the wreck behind to support me from sinking. Of full two hundred thousand livres left in Mr. Chaumont's hands, I could not recover one sou; he soon took out a protection from arrests, frequently practised in France by men who have interest at Court, by which, without becoming declared bankrupts, they set their creditors at defiance, and pass their days merrily on their property. In this predicament that gentleman is at present, and will probably continue. As to my demand on Congress, no one was appointed to settle my accounts, and neither Doctor Franklin or any other person would advance me any thing on that

account. The completion of our affairs in America was such that the Court would not hear anything about our contract for masts, though their minister and consul had encouraged us to enter into it, and to advance money on the strength of it. I arrived in France in July, 1780, and passed the remainder of the summer of the fall and winter following, trying, but to no purpose, to do something. Most or all of my acquaintance who had been engaged in speculations to America had found that they were losing or desperate adventures, and declined any further concern. The affair which I had left with Doctor Bancroft turned out almost as unfavorable as the others. The aforesaid bonds and mortgages, with a small sum in cash, was the whole I could obtain ; the former was of no use to me for the present ; the latter with the utmost frugality on my part, has supported me, with the aid, indeed, of monies which I borrowed in May and June, 1781 ; and through that summer the intelligence I received from America, and the knowledge which I had of affairs in Europe, rendered the prospect of our public interests as gloomy and unpromising as that of my private and personal ones was become. In this unfortunate situation, and under these impressions, I returned to unbosom myself to my friends in America, and, with the purest zeal for the welfare and safety of my country, to warn them of what I apprehended would be the events of that campaign. Unforseen events, and meerly accidental ones, gave the French fleet a superiority on our coast, and decided the fate of the British forces at York. Events of a like nature threw my letters into the power of the enemy, who, to ruin me with my countrymen, published them. Soon after writing those letters, I made a journey to Amsterdam, hoping to fix my son in a compting house there ; but the total stagnation of business occasioned by the war prevented my doing it. On my return, I left him at Ghent, in Austrian Flanders, and engaged lodgings for myself, resolving to wait the issue of things in a country

where I could live at a small expence ; and after returning to Paris and settling some small concerns there, I join'd him in company with Mr. Sebor. After I had been there a few weeks I received a resolve of Congress, sent me by their secretary, informing me that Mr. Barclay was ordered to settle my accounts. I then resolved to return to Paris, when I accidentally met with Mr. Barclay himself, who assured me that he had no such instructions ; but as he was then on a journey to Holland, he might receive them before he returned, and if so would immediately acquaint me of it. Soon after this I received the news of my letters being intercepted and published ; this made me lay aside all thoughts of returning into France, where now I had no business, and where, at least, my presence might have been disagreeable. Overwhelmed by this succession of misfortunes, I determined no longer to attempt to resist the torrent, but to remain in exile and obscurity until it had spent its force ; though my private interest, urged me to make a voyage to England, to settle an account which I had there, and tho' I saw my country men, even the most zealous of them, constantly passing through the very town in which I lived, on their way to or from London. Yet such was my situation that I could not do the same without running the risque of being apprehended by the Ministers, and exposing myself both to the censures and prosecutions of my countrymen in America. Thus I passed the whole of the year 1782, and until March last, when I came over into England. Even in my retreat and total insignificance I could not escape the malignant shafts of my enemies to injure my character with the gentlemen of my acquaintance in Flanders. It was inserted in all the English papers which circulated through that country that I had defrauded my country of large sums, and had fled from justice ; this excited me to appeal to Doctor Franklin, who simply from a regard to justice sent me the inclosed certificate, which was also published in the same papers, and thus

far defeated this effort of malice. I enclose it, because I am informed that it has been suppressed, or, rather, not publish'd in America. It requires no further comment than this single observation: the man branded in America as a public defaulter is, by Doctor Franklin, in March, 1778, when he closed his public employ, declared to have been an active, able, and faithful Minister, and that he has personally been an eye witness to his conduct, and speaks from his own knowledge. In December, 1782, almost five years after, he repeats and confirms his first declaration. This is a brief sketch of my history since my leaving America. I had not been three weeks in London before I began again to be noticed by a set of mischievous paragraph scribblers. On my arrival in London, Arnold called on me. A remembrance of past personal civilities and of hospitality would not permit me to shut the door in his face; he invited me to dine at his house, in company with gentlemen of rank and character. I excused myself; he repeated his invitation. I then frankly told him that I could not visit or regard him in the same light as formerly, and that he must suspend his visits to me, which he did, and I have not seen him since, except passing in his coach. But it was one morning published: "Yesterday Mr. Deane had a long interview with Lord North," &c. ; the next, he was at the Duke of Portland's levee, dined with Mr. Fox, &c., &c. The fact is, I have never seen any one of the Ministers, except at a distance, in the House of Commons or in the park, nor do I know any one of them, even by sight, except it be Lord North and Mr. Fox, whose figures are such that once seen they must ever afterwards be known. But would you have the key to all this? Take it in a few words. Instantly on the signing of the preliminaries, the Americans in France and in other parts of Europe hastened over to England, with sanguine expectations that the importance of our commerce was such that British ports and British stores of merchandize would be open to them, and

that they might obtain whatever they asked for, or, rather, demanded; and such was the amazing confidence of some of those men, that with large debts against them, the payment of which they had positively refused during the war, or had pretendedly canceled them by the Tender Law, they ventured to solicit new credit, and at the same time were capable of so little reflection as to presume themselves still entitled to all the rights and privileges in British ports, both in Europe and the West Indies, as they formerly were when British subjects. A bill was brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Pitt, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, which in effect tending that way, gave them encouragement; but they were soon disappointed. The bill, on consideration, was unanimously thrown by, without even the question being put on it. The merchants of this country had suffered too severely from the past; they had full two millions sterling still due in America, and were disposed to wait and see if they received any part of the old, before they entered on a new score. Besides this the merchants and manufacturers had such large demands for their goods from other quarters, that they were under no temptation to court and solicit the custom of men in such a predicament. From these causes very few or none of the old American houses inclined to do any thing, and the general sense of the nation and temper of the government soon became this: that the subjects of the United States, being to all intents foreigners, their ships, merchants, and produce could not be treated otherwise than those of other foreign nations; and that if any particular privilege or exemption was granted, it must be in exchange for something equivalent granted on our side. This took off all former bounties on our produce, and fixed in their place the duties to which other foreigners were subject, and, in short, placed our commerce in that restricted and burthened state which I had foretold that it would necessarily fall into. Thus doubly and from every

quarter disappointed, the weakly imputed the cause of it to my present advice and counsel, and ridiculously attempted to make me of such importance as to influence the councils of the cabinets and the resolutions of Parliament; and thus I was made to become intimately acquainted with Ministers, to attend their levees, dine with them, &c., though, as I have already said, I never had either knowledge of, or correspondance with, any of them. I am thus particular, to enable you to understand the ground and rise of reports which, I am confident, will be propagated in America. Nothing short of the hopes of seeing better times, both for my country and myself—times in which I might be heard with calmness and impartiality, and of justifying my conduct, or at least of proving that I had never been intentionally wrong, nor ever unfaithful to my trust—have supported me, and rendered existence itself supportable. I now flatter myself that time is arrived, or near, and that after having spent several years of the prime of my life in the service of my country, and thereby sacrificed my views of private fortune, I shall be able, at least, to convince them that I have served them with a pure heart and with clean hands. This is at present the utmost of my aim, and to this I know that I am entitled. If the letters of Generals Washington, Greene, and of some hundreds of others in America, and those of Doctor Franklin and others in Europe, were laid before the public, as some of them shall soon be, it will be found that I was not the only desponding and apprehensive person, in the year 1781. When the intrigues of the courts of France and Spain to deprive us entirely of the fishery, and to take from us all the lands on the Mississippi and Ohio; and, in short, to render us as circumscribed in territory as they mean at present to make us in commerce, and totally dependent on them for peace. When these come to be publicly known, the boldest assertion in my letters will be fully supported. And what prevents your being informed

of these facts at present ? Nothing but an ill-placed, slavish complaisance, disguised under the name of political prudence ; for I well know that Doctor Franklin and the Commissioners at Paris have informed Congress of them, and urged them, in excuse for their having signed the preliminaries of peace without the knowledge or consent of the French Ministers, which Congress had ordered them not to do ; for by the intrigues of the French minister at Philadelphia Congress were brought to pass a resolve ordering their Commissioners not to agree to or sign any articles or treaty for peace without the concurrence and consent of the Court of France. The Court, having gained this point, thought themselves secure, and went on negotiating ; and, confident that they should at all times be masters of the terms, they supported Spain in her claims on East Louisiana, which comprehends all the lands on the eastern shores of the Mississippi, and between that and the Ohio. With respect to us, they regarded us simply as the make-weight in the scale ; but, fortunately, letters on this subject were intercepted which opened the eyes of the Commissioners, and induced them to close with the terms of peace offered by this country without the knowledge or concurrence of the French Ministers. You may rest assured that I have the most full and incontestible proof of these facts, and that Congress have the same. They at least palliate, if they do not justify, the predictions in my letters as to the part which would be finally played. Thanks, eternal thanks are due to our Commissioners, who had the courage to disobey or neglect the resolve of Congress, and to put their hands to the preliminaries of peace without the knowledge or interposition of the French Ministers. But if you are still ignorant of all the facts, inquire of our delegates if they have not seen the Commissioners' letters on the subject ; if they have not seen or heard of Monsr. Luzerne's, and of Monsr. Marbois's letters on this subject. I hope that in the course of this fall

I shall get my accompts with Congress settled ; though their consul has no orders to pay anything, and, in fact, has nothing of theirs in his hands to pay with. What course I shall afterwards take I really am undetermined on. I had thought of returning to Virginia, but the account you give me of our Brother Simeon's health very greatly alarms me. It is now almost two years since I received any letter from him, and am perfectly ignorant of his circumstances. I wish also to know what is like to be the temper and complexion of the times with you, and in other parts of the United States ; if faction and party rage prevail, and violent animosities against all those who have even recommended peaceable and conciliating measures, and, in particular, against me personally. I may as well be any where else. I cannot, in such case, be more unhappy in any other country than I must be in my own. Of all this I am impatient to be informed, and must pray you to be particular in your next letter. As to our commerce, I see no prospect of its being so extensive or so profitable in future as it has heretofore been, and the balance never was greatly in our favor. In the Northern States we have not, nor can have, from the nature of our soil and climate and the price of labor, any articles of produce which will answer in any part of Europe, except it be flaxseed, potash, fish, and lumber. Naval stores are now brought from the Baltic ; so also is iron, potash, &c. ; and though they pay a duty, yet the articles are sold cheaper than we can afford them. Fish and oil are not wanted, except in Spain and Portugal, and it is the same with wheat and flour. The state of agriculture is become such in all the northern parts of Europe, including France and this country, that it is hardly possible, in the nature of things, that there should in future be any great demands for provisions of any kind from any other quarter of the world. The whale fishery of this country has been so greatly increased within the last seven years that Great Britain now exports that article,

and admits none from abroad but under a heavy duty. Rice, indigo, and tobacco are almost the only articles wanted from America. If this government persevere in their resolution to regard our ships as foreign, and to exclude them from the West India Islands, and if France continues her restrictions, our West India trade, one principal source for remittances, and for bringing specie into our country, will be lessened to almost nothing.

I know that you believe that the West Indies cannot subsist without us, but experience has shewn the contrary in part already; and if we permit British ships to be our carriers, they will suffer no inconvenience whatever, and we shall lose the ship building and the carrying business. This is, in part, my view of our future commerce, if no revolution happen in the commercial system now adopted in this country and in France. In short, I see but two great and solid branches of business left us, and they are agriculture and manufactures. On these the wealth of this country has arisen to the enormous height at which it now is, and our wealth and independance must result from the same causes. We must introduce such a number of manufactures as to supply our own demands, and these will make a market for the produce of our lands at home. Emigrations from Europe will be considerable if encouraged; and speculations in new and good lands, and in certain manufactures of a bulky kind, such as glass ware, crockery ware, tin ware, &c., &c., appear to me to be the most likely to turn to account; and in this light I regard your distillery, if you can be sure of supplying it with a constant stock of molasses.

I wrote Mr. Mumford, but have not received any answer, which I take unkind of him. It is very hard that a difference in opinion on political subjects should cause either resentment or neglect. I wish that you would take the resolution of being revenged on me for this long letter, by sending me one in return at least half as long. You may, if you think proper, shew this

letter to Mr. Mumford and Col. Wadsworth, and to any others who desire to know my history for the last two years, and my present situation and way of thinking. My compliments to G. Wyllys, Esq., &c.

I am &c.,

S. DEANE.

B. Deane, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

TO SIMEON DEANE.

London, July 25th, 1783.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—It is now almost two years since I received a single line from you, hence judge of my impatience to know what you have done since I left you, and what your present situation is. By a letter from our brother Barnabas Deane, I am informed that you had been very ill, and was expected in Conn. for the recovery of your health. I hope this may find you in Connecticut and recovered. As I have wrote a small volume to our Barnabas Deane, I expect he will communicate the contents to you, and therefore will not repeat in this what I have said in that. The knowledge of your situation, plans, and prospects is very necessary for me to have, to direct me in forming my future resolutions. I am at present in a most isolated state. Calumniated and persecuted in America, in effect proscribed in France, and without friends or patrons in this country, and, what is still worse, without funds to procure them or to enable me to enter on any business of consequence, I have entertained thoughts of returning to Virginia, and to prosecute a plan which I have mentioned to you in several of my letters, of saw mills and the manufacture of tobacco on a large scale ; but the climate deters me, and my ignorance of the temper of the times respecting me makes me pause. I can by no means think of returning to a country, however dear to me,

in which I may be subject to insult or contumely. From what is published, it appears that though a public and general peace is made, yet you are very far from internal peace and good humour, without which no country can be agreeable, or even tolerable, to one who wishes to pass his days in peace and retirement. The violent resolves in most of the States against the refugees, notwithstanding the articles in the treaty, in their favor, have had a most unhappy effect on the minds of every one in this country, if it is really our interest to be reconciled and connected with this nation in friendship and commerce, and in an intercourse of mutual good offices; but if this is not to be wished for by us, and if the contrary is our interest, the present violent measures may be good policy, though our friends in other nations will hardly be brought to justify the principle which appears to be adopted in America, that the people at large have a right to comply with such articles of the late treaty as suit them, and to reject those that they disapprove of. By one article of the treaty, all debts due to the subjects of this country at the commencement of the late war are to be paid in specie. Now, as there remains a balance of upwards of two millions sterling still due to the merchants here, of which about one-fourth is due in Virginia, it is generally thought here that the violation of the articles respecting the refugees is calculated to make way for the like as to the payment of those debts. This shocks and disgusts our warmest friends in this country; and we may perhaps find that it is better to have friends than enemies in any country, even in this, which we have lately affected to despise and abuse as a poor, distressed, and ruined nation. But I must assure you, with the utmost candor and impartiality, that this country exhibits no marks or proofs of poverty, of distress, or of ruin, unless it be in newspapers and in the declarations of men out of place. You have travelled through France, Flanders, and Holland, unquestionably the

best peopled and wealthiest part of the continent of Europe, yet you can scarcely form thence any just idea of the superior wealth and commerce of this, and of the plentiful and decent stile in which even the lower orders live; and for the higher, as in almost every other country, their luxury keeps pace with their wealth. The improvements in manufactures for the last ten years are astonishingly great, and such a must appear incredible to any one not personally knowing to them. The demands for the manufacture of this country have been annually increasing, and at present the workmen have full employ in every branch. The great improvements to which I refer are new invented machines in almost every branch, by which one person may do the labor of several. I must pray you to lose no time in acquainting me with your situation and views; and again referring you to my very long letter to our Barnabas Deane, I am, my Dear Brother,

Most affectionately yours,

S. DEANE.

Simeon Deane, Esq.

Thomas M

JOHN ADAMS TO ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

The Hague, August 2d, 1783.

* * * My advices from England are that Lord Sheffield, with his friends Deane, Arnold, Skeane, and P. Wentworth, are making a party unfriendly to us, that the Ministry adopt their sentiments and measures; that Fox has lost his popularity, and devoted himself to North, who has the King's ear, and disposes of places; that Burke is mad with rage and passion, that the honest men are much disgusted that there is no parliamentary reform, the merchants that commerce does not revive; the monied men are at their wit's ends, on account of the conduct of the bank, and

the army and navy disbanding in a spirit of revolt; that it is much to be feared that in a year there will be a convulsion in the state, and public credit ruined; that the present Ministry can not stand to the meeting of Parliament, for that nothing has been or can be done by them. * * *

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Hon. Robt. R. Livingston.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., VI. 630.

TO JOHN DEBRETT.

London, August 8th, 1783.

MR. DEBRETT,—The editors of the European Magazine and London Review have informed their readers that in their next they shall endeavor to give them some authentic anecdotes of Silas Deane, Esq. As I never was in this kingdom until the month of March past, and in the course of my life have scarcely had either an acquaintance or correspondent in it, it appears to me somewhat extraordinary that anyone should attempt to amuse the public with anecdotes of a man who in private life never had either connection or correspondence in this country, and whose public conduct, so far as relates to this nation, is so well known. Though no man can more ardently wish to remain unnoticed by gazette and magazine writers, or by any authors whatever, yet had I the least ground to believe that the proposed anecdotes would be authentic, I should have less objection to their being published. But as I have every reason to expect the contrary, it must naturally give me some uneasiness; and presuming that you would not intentionally give me any, or assist to injure me in any respect whatever, I trust that you will entirely dispense with the proposed publications in your next, or at least that you will give me the

perusal of my own history in manuscript, and thereby enable me to assure you if it be authentic or not, before you proceed to give it out to the public.*

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Fleet Street, No. 135.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

TO JOHN JAY.

London, August 27th, 1783.

SIR,—I improve this opportunity to introduce to your acquaintance Sir Robert Morris, the friend and correspondent of Mr. Robert Morris. You must have often heard Mr. Morris speak of him, and am confident that you will be well pleased and entertained by a personal acquaintance with a gentleman so much esteemed by Mr. Morris, as well as by all who know him, for his extensive knowledge of trade and commerce in general, and in particular of this country and of ours. With my compliments to Mrs. Jay, I am, with sincere esteem and respect, Sir,

Your most Obedt. and Very Humble Servt.,

SILAS DEANE.

Hon. John Jay, Esq.

Endorsed by Mr. Jay: "Not answered."

Jay Mss.

TO THOMAS BARCLAY.

London, August 28th, 1783.

SIR,—I was not informed of your being in town until a day or two before your leaving it, and then

* The July number of the European Magazine contained a reproduction of the Du Simitière portrait of Deane, with the announcement, "It shall be our endeavour to give to our readers authentic anecdotes of Silas Deane, Esq., in our next." The promised publication appeared in the number for October, 1783, and is reprinted at page 194 of this volume.

was told that you were to set off the next morning, by which I missed the seeing you here. Could you have favored me with only an hour or two of your time, it might have been of very great service to me in my situation. In your letter of the 8th, of July, which I answered the 20th, you inform me that you have no particular instructions relative to the settlement of my accompts, nor any orders to any balance that may appear due to me on them, notwithstanding which, I should have been in Paris before this, could I have gone thither with safety to my personal liberty. I may be too apprehensive; but informed by Doctor Bancroft, and others on whom I can rely, of the violent prejudices entertained against me by the French Ministers, prejudices which I am sorry to find have been increased by time, instead of being lessened, I cannot, in my peculiar situation, expose myself to be deprived of my personal liberty, on pretence of my past or present conduct. Place yourself for a moment in my situation, and then you will not, I am confident, censure me for unnecessary precautions or groundless apprehensions. You know how absolutely despotic the court of France is, and that in political matters, in particular, their proceedings are, especially when the personal resentment of the Minister is excited, as summary and severe as those of any court in the world; that I cannot expect even the lenity and favor of a French subject who has offended, much less that to which foreigners are entitled, for my countrymen, still prejudiced and irritated against me for having ventured to predict what I am sorry to find at this day in part realized, would not reclaim me, or interest themselves on my account; this government could not, were they so disposed, being an alien, and late their enemy. In this isolated state, I am expected to suffer whatever the resentments of an absolute despotic government shall see fit to inflict, without the interposition of any power for my defence or relief. Thus situated, I have applied to Doctor Franklin for a passport from

the Minister, to which he has replied that so far as it depends on him I shall be safe at Paris. Though I have no doubt of his sincerity in this promise, yet I have abundant reason to doubt his ability or power to protect me, whilst I well know the rancor and animosity of some at Paris, both Americans, as well as Frenchmen, towards me ; for this reason I shall again apply directly to Monsr. de Vergennes for safe protection. If granted me, I will lose no time to wait on you at Paris. In the meantime I send you the particulars of my accompt, the duplicate of which I gave you at Ghent, and which you transmitted to Congress. As Congress had that account before them when they commissioned you to liquidate and to settle all the accompts of the United States in Europe, and made no observations on mine, in particular, I am led to presume either that they had no material objection to my accompts, or that they submitted it entirely to your judgment to liquidate and to settle it as you should judge just and equitable ; and with this reference I am perfectly satisfied. Confident of your impartiality, I am induced to send you my accompt for examination, with a few observations on it, that if objections arise in your mind to any part of it, you may point them out, and thereby enable me, by knowing what they are, to be prepared to move them ; this will help to bring the subject in question into a narrower compass, and shorten the time necessary for the final settlement and close of it, whether I meet you at Paris or elsewhere for that purpose. You will observe that though I have given the detail of my accompt, yet that the articles of charge fall under the following heads : First, the amount of my expences from January, 1776, to August, 1780, being in the whole, livres 100,947, 14 ; this is so far from being extravagant, that you will, I doubt not, give me credit, when I assure that it is much below the actual amount of what I expended in that time ; but I was scrupulous of making a general charge, lest it might be said that I charged at random, and without authority to sup-

port me. I therefore entered only such charges as I either had vouchers for, and such as I had minuted at the time, in memorandums. In such charges no one can, from the nature of them, expect vouchers for every article. I believe that I have, however, for the greater part of the amount of my expences. Secondly, the monies advanced to prisoners and distressed subjects of the United States, amounting to 19,225, 7, 10; for the greater part of this sum I have receipts, but for many of the smaller sums, I have no other than the memorandums made at the time, and in this part I am sensible that I am a considerable sufferer; from the extreme difficulty and perplexity of the affairs I then had on me, and without any accomptant or clerk to assist me, I must have paid out more than I can now find either vouchers or original entries for, and by turning to the accounts of Congress, I think that you must be convinced of the same; for from July, 1776, the time I began to disburse money on this account, to April, 1778, all the payments for the relief of prisoners amount to livres 6,406, 5, 9, charged in the general accompt; the rest was paid by me, except a very trifle by Doctor Franklin or Mr. Lee, when I happened to be out of the way, which was very seldom; but from April, 1778, to March, 1779, in one year only after my leaving France, the sum of livres 33,782, 19, 10, is charged to Congress by the commissioners on that accompt only. Thirdly, 9,200 livres advanced to Mr. Carmichael, for which, except about 1,000 livres, I have vouchers. Fourthly, livres 47,899, 12, 6, advanced to officers and Americans in the service of Congress, for the whole of which I have receipts and vouchers for the three next articles in the recapitulation amounting to livres 7,836, 11, 6. I have vouchers, except for the first, the nature of which would not admit of any; the charge of linen, &c., is explained in the charge itself, as also that for the encyclopedia, amounting to 4,935, 10, 6, which, as I owe Doctor Franklin for money advanced me, it is indifferent to

me whether the charges remain as they are, or if he credit me for them, and charge them in his accompt ; the three charges amounting to 8,126, 7, 6, explain themselves, and I have vouchers for them, as also for 8,036, 5, on the journey to Toulon ; the charge for my time and the wrong charges are easily explained, and can, I think, admit of no question ; thus I have touched on every charge in the recapitulation, in page 26 and 27 of the accompt I now send you, the whole amounting to 325,496, 9, 7 ; the credit being the amount of all the monies either received or charged me by the bankers, livres 150,389, 7, 11. I have, in the preamble to my commission accompt explained it in a few words. I am informed by Mr. Beaumarchais that you object to my having presumed to examine and pass his accompts, when no longer the agent and commissioner for Congress. Had I taken on me to pass accompts relative to any transactions had on accompts of the public, after my ceasing to be their agent and commissioner, I should have justly merited censure, and my proceedings would be invalid ; but this case is entirely different, and whatever errors there may be found in the settlement, I did not exceed the bounds of my commission, or the line of my duty, in examining and passing accompts of transactions and purchases which I alone had been from the first commissioned to make and engage in. It would, indeed, be something very extraordinary if a man transacting business and making purchases under the authority of a public commission, should, from the moment of his recall, be deprived of the right of settling and passing the accompts of his preceding transactions and purchases. When in America the only complaint against me was my not having done this after my recall, previous to my return ; but at the same time it was well known that the necessity for my then speedy return presented this, and every impartial man saw that this advantage was taken of me by my enemies in America, because they had nothing in reality to charge me with, and therefore demanded that of me

which they knew I had not, nor could have at that time—the accmpt of all my transactions and purchases on behalf of the public in Europe. This could not be obtained but by my return to France; for this purpose only I returned, and was assured by Congress that Mr. Johnson was commissionnd to examine and pass those accmpts as soon as I should have them ready to be lain before him. It, therefore, appeared to me at the time, and still appears to have been my indispensable duty to examine and to pass all accmpts of my transaction, that was almost the whole of my business on which I returned to France. If I made purchases and contracted debts by virtue of the commission of Congress, and, agreeable to the power given me, pledged their faith for the payment, it still lay on me, though the term of my commission had expired, or that I was recalled, to settle and ascertain how far I had gone in the execution of my commission, and to what amount I had pledged the faith of my constituents previous to such recall. Though I view that transaction in this light, still, if in the settlement erroneous or false charges are discovered, justice and equity call for their being ratified, nor can the creditor object to it. As to the two articles which I presume are the only objectionable ones, the insurance and high commissions, I have given my reasons at large for my allowing the latter, and Mr. Beaumarchais from the first to this hour has proposed this alternative: either to be allowed a premium of insurance, or to take the risque on himself, and receive the price at which the articles sent out would sell for on their arrival, without either premium of insurance or commissions; but if, on the whole, either or both of these charges are objected or abated, it will not affect my charge of commission, as I have charged the commission of 5 per cent. promised me by the commercial and by the secret committees of Congress on the amount of the stores, &c., only, and have made none on those two charges. Mr. Beaumarchais is now in town. I have

seen him but once, but shall improve his interest, as well as that of others, to obtain a safe protection; meantime pray you to examine my accmpt, and to favor me with your observations on it as soon as you can; and if I cannot meet you in Paris, I will meet you anywhere in the Low Countries to liquidate and to settle it; or, if that is wholly inconsistent with your engagements, perhaps Mr. Ridley may meet me in your behalf. I shall write to Doctor Franklin in a few days. This goes by a private hand, to save expence, and he cannot give me more time than to make up my packet and to seal this. I have the honor to remain, Sir,

Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Barclay, Paris.

Thomas Mss.

FROM BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Passy, August 31st, 1783.

SIR,—I received last night the letter you did me the honor of writing to me the 20th, past, and in answer inform you that I never heard anything of the discourses or resentments you mention, either at Versailles or at Paris; that I do not think your personal safety or liberty would be hazarded from any such resentments by your coming to Paris to settle your accmpts; and that, so far as may depend on me, you may rely on the protection you wish for. With best wishes that you may hereafter so prudently conduct yourself as to recover the esteem and respect you once possessed among your countrymen, I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

Silas Deane, Esq.

Trumbull Papers, Mass. Hist. Society.

JACOB SEBOR TO BARNABAS DEANE.

London, Sept. 23d, 1783.

DEAR SIR, — This will be delivered you by your nephew, who I hope will have an agreeable passage. I should have been exceeding happy to have accompanied him had it been in my power. Indeed, I expected to have been with you long before this, but loth to return without effecting any business, I have persevered, and am now in a fair way of succeeding; but it is necessary that I should remain here till February or March ensuing, at which time I shall leave this country, and bring with me a suitable assortment of English and Dutch goods for the American market, and shall establish myself either at New York or Hartford. I am very anxious to see you and my friends in Connecticut, and can assure you that I should have been with you many months since had it been in my power to have transacted any business sooner to my advantage.

Colonel Wadsworth is arrived in France, and is expected in this city in the course of a few weeks. I wish your affairs had been such that you could have visited this country. I think you would be highly delighted with it. In this city you can wish for no pleasure, amusement, or enjoyment that cannot be satisfied, provided your purse does not fail. I pass my time as agreeably as I could wish. Your brother has recovered his health exceedingly since his being here. He is very much esteemed, and treated with great civility by the gentlemen of rank in the city and country. As he has wrote you fully respecting his affairs, I shall say nothing concerning them. Pray write me the first opportunity after you receive this, and direct to the care of F. W. Geyer, Esq., merchant, London. Should you have any business to transact in this country, or wish to have any articles purchased for you, depend I shall do every thing in my power to give

satisfaction. I hope to send a few goods to you by Captain Coupar, who will sail for New York in three weeks from this. I expect to pass great part of the winter in the manufacturing towns in procuring articles that I shall carry out with me, and for others which will be of service to me.

Please to present my compliments to all my friends. I am, with the most sincere esteem and respect, Dear Sir,

Your most obedt. & very Hble. Servt.,

J. SEBOR.

B. Deane, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

MEMOIRS OF SILAS DEANE, ESQ.,

A CORRECT LIKENESS OF WHOM WAS GIVEN IN OUR MAGAZINE FOR JULY.

THIS gentleman is descended from a very respectable family, who have long been possessed of considerable property in New England. He was born in that province, and received the first rudiments of education in the town of Boston. At a proper age he was sent to England to be instructed in the classics, and other branches of polite literature, which, though familiar to many individuals, were not at that time publicly taught in his native country. In these he made a rapid progress, and then went to France to acquire a critical knowledge of the language of that kingdom. After residing some time in Paris and other principal places, he returned to America, and employed his talents in promoting the interest of that country in which he first came into existence. When the unhappy dispute between Great Britain and her colonies broke out, Mr. Deane took a decided part in the cause of liberty, and we early find his name among those gentlemen who were delegated by the province of New England to represent it in the general Congress. Here his talents soon

rendered him conspicuous; nor was it in the Senate alone that he laboured for his country, his private fortune was made subservient to her interest; for we find him in Oct., 1775, the purchaser of a large cargo of military stores to enable her to resist those coercive measures which were then adopted by the British Ministry.

When the Court of France, ever watchful to depress these kingdoms, sent their emissaries to Congress to offer them supplies of troops, military stores, merchandize, and other necessities for maintaining that independence which they had recently proclaimed, Mr. Deane was selected as the most proper member of that body to represent the new States at the Court of Versailles. He was accordingly despatched to that Court in the character of Charge des Affaires, and empowered to negotiate a treaty of commerce with the French Ministry. This he soon accomplished, on terms which redounded as much to his own reputation as to the satisfaction of his constituents.

In the latter end of the year 1776 Dr. Franklin and Arthur Lee, Esq., were joined with Mr. Deane in a commission to negotiate a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with the Court of France. With the former of these gentlemen Mr. Deane lived on terms of strict amity and confidence; but Mr. Lee's equivocal behavior soon occasioned a breach between them, and that gentleman's representations to Congress, of which several of his family were members, occasioned a resolution of that body in Dec., 1777, to recall Mr. Deane from a situation in which he had so assiduously and successfully laboured to promote their interests. Upon his arrival in America he applied to Congress to be permitted to lay before them a detail of the negotiations in which he had been engaged; but after two hearings, finding that body not so ready to approve of his proceedings as he expected, he ventured upon an appeal to the public. This appeal involved him in a controversy with some eminent

characters, in the course of which many reflections were thrown at his conduct, and some insinuations even glanced at his integrity. On which side the truth lay we pretend not to determine, but we do not find Mr. Deane ever after appeared in any character. He soon retired from his native country, passed some time in France, from whence he came to England, and now resides in the metropolis as a private gentleman.

We are inclined to think that at the beginning of the unhappy contest between Great Britain and her American Colonies, Mr. Deane did not look forward to that species of independence which the colonists have now established; but only aimed, with many other gentlemen of solid understanding, at independence in the articles of internal legislation and taxation, reserving to the mother-country the right of exclusive commerce in return for protection. We hazard this opinion upon a perusal of certain letters which have been published to the world as his, and said to be intercepted in an American mail, and shall lay before the reader some extracts from them, as the ground of our conjecture.

In a letter dated Paris, May 14, 1781, and addressed to Brigadier-General Parsons, speaking of the unhappy contest then subsisting, he says: "Our first object of the war was the repealing of those acts of parliament which were injurious to our rights and privileges; before this repeal was obtained we were *forced* to declare independency, and solicit an alliance with France, the hereditary enemy of England. By a fortunate turn in our affairs [the capture in Gen. Burgoyne's army] France was brought into an alliance with us and to guaranty our independence. Just at this time the Parliament of England repealed the obnoxious acts. This changed entirely the object of the war on our part, as well as on that of England. It was no longer for *the redress of grievances*, but for *sovereignty that we fought*." Speaking of the views of France in her alliance with America, he says: "At

the time in which France came into a treaty of alliance with us, their object was to separate America for ever from England, and thereby to weaken effectually a power which, for centuries past, had given them more uneasiness, and stood more in their way, than any other power in Europe."—"Their plan is now, as far as we can judge by appearance, to weaken England by spinning out the war, and by employing us against them; and after England is reduced by these means, *our independence may possibly be established.*" He then goes on: "But supposing that England, in consequence of such a system, should, in two or three years, be reduced to receive the law from France and Spain, in what situation must America by that time be? And to what power can we look for relief, if France or Spain, or both, should offer to dictate the laws to us? Though this may not be the case, yet nothing is more evident than that the present object of France and Spain is to employ and waste the forces of Britain at the expence of America. Evident as this must be to every one who impartially reviews the past and compares it with the present, we are unwilling to see or believe it; and are prevented from the examination by fair promises, generous professions, and just so much, and no more, assistance as will serve us to keep from sinking at once, or flying off to the other side."

In another letter, addressed to the Hon. Robert Morris, Mr. Deane thus expresses himself: "Let the contest close when or in what manner it may, will independent sovereignty in the hands of a democracy be a government under which our persons and properties will be better secured than they were before this unhappy contest with Great Britain? This I know is generally believed. It is even relied on as a principal source from which we shall reimburse our present expences. The subject, however, merits an examination. If the restraints formerly laid on our trade were over-balanced by the protection and encouragement given to it; if, in a state of independence, that pro-

tection and encouragement must necessarily be withdrawn, and our commerce with Great Britain and its possessions become subject to all the duties and prohibitions laid on the commerce of aliens and strangers ; if our commerce with France, and other foreign nations, must be subject to the conditions and restraints which they shall see fit to impose, as must be the case, it deserves inquiry whether we in our commerce shall become gainers or not. I have examined the question as thoroughly as I am capable, and am convinced we must be losers. We complained of England for including America in the Navigation Act, and other acts of trade ; but if the naval force of that nation rose, in consequence of those acts, into a power sufficient to protect the trade of the whole empire ; if the trade of America was protected thereby, could it be unreasonable that the trade of America should submit to those acts and regulations which were the source of its protection and security ? We complained that acts of parliament prohibited us from carrying certain articles of our produce to foreign markets, and thereby gave England a monopoly advantageous to her and injurious to us ; but it must, at the same time, be acknowledged that British subjects were restrained from purchasing and importing the same articles from other countries ; so that if England made a monopoly of certain articles of our produce, she gave us in return a monopoly of her market, and the liberty of reexporting our goods, if a better market offered elsewhere. In this the advantage lay evidently with us. A great part of the articles thus monopolized by England were such as could have been, and were formerly, supplied by foreigners at as low or lower rates than we could afford them." He then enters into a comprehensive view of the commerce of Great Britain with the Colonies of North America, states the consumption of American products in Britain, and enumerates the countries from which she may be supplied with them upon equally beneficial terms. But as a detail of his argu-

ments on this subject would exceed our limits, we refer the reader to the letters themselves.

Upon the whole, we apprehend ourselves justified in supposing Mr. Deane to be one of those gentlemen who have embarked in the cause of the independence of America upon too confined a view of its consequences; and that his more mature thoughts have induced him to withdraw himself from a situation in which his private judgment could not suffer him to act with those who, intoxicated with the glare of a short-lived victory, are forming schemes of empire which may shortly vanish, like the baseless fabric of a vision, and who, while he held the sentiments now cited, would represent him as inimical to the liberties of his country.

The European Magazine and London Review, Oct., 1783, IV. 243.

ROBERT MORRIS TO ARTHUR LEE.

Office of Finance [Phil.], Oct. 4th, 1783.

SIR,—I have received your letter of the 26th of last month, desiring information as to the reality of a contract with and instructions to Mr. Deane. Enclosed you have a copy of the contract mentioned. The instructions to Mr. Deane are, I presume, in the Office of Foreign Affairs.

The facts under this contract are generally as follows, so far as my knowledge extends. Money was advanced to me, which I expended in shipment of cargoes from the Delaware and Chesapeake, and have long since accounted for. Money was also advanced to Messrs. Lewis, Livingston, and Alsop, and I believe expended by some or one of them in shipments from New York and Connecticut; but the accounts are not yet closed, which is one among many reasons why a commissioner should be appointed or authorized to settle the accounts of the secret and commercial committees.

Of the several shipments made, some arrived, some were taken, some were detained by the enemy's naval power. The risk becoming great, it was thought most advisable to abandon the further prosecution of the plan, which the parties to the contract, then in this country, cheerfully consented to, and it was determined that the proceeds of those shipments which might have arrived should be carried into the general public accounts. Mr. Deane went to Europe under this contract, and being unable, from the remittances sent, to complete the intentions of his voyage, has, I believe, carried the amount of those remittances into his general accounts with the United States. These accounts are among those which Mr. Barclay is appointed to settle, and I presume that no allowance will be made, such as claimed by Mr. Deane, until he shall have produced the contract and instructions to which he refers for support of his claim; nor then, unless very completely supported or specially allowed by Congress.

I believe Mr. Barclay is now employed in making that adjustment, and I suppose that after he shall have gone through Mr. Deane's accounts, admitted such charges as ought clearly to be admitted, and rejected such as ought clearly to be rejected, there will remain some articles on which he will apply to Congress for their special decision; in which case he will naturally transmit all the evidence which Mr. Deane may have exhibited.

With perfect respect, I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Hon. Arthur Lee.

Diplomatic Correspondence, Amer. Rev., Wharton Ed., VI. 709.

TO ROBERT MORRIS.

London, Oct. 10th, 1783.

SIR,—After what passed in 1781, in consequence of my letters having been intercepted and published, I

had no reason to expect a continuation of our correspondence on the former terms, had your leisure permitted it. The series of misfortunes which from my leaving France in 1778 to return to Philadelphia, wanted but that of the publication of my letters to overwhelm me. My fortune in America well nigh ruined by depreciation, the funds which I had left in France wasted or misapplied by those in whose hands I had placed them, and disappointed in every other prospect, and publicly stigmatized both in America and in France as a defaulter and a traitor, I did not think it prudent to attempt to withstand the general torrent, and therefore retired into an exile as obscure and low as the circumstances to which I was reduced. I passed near eighteen months in Ghent, in narrow, cheap lodgings, most of the time without a servant, and dining at a table d'hôte or ordinary; saw no one that I could avoid seeing, and corresponded with scarce a single person out of Flanders, except with Doctor Bancroft at Paris. In this situation no man had more reason than I had to wish for a general pacification, and no one more sincerely rejoices at it. I regard your sending my last letters to you to Congress unopened as a duty which you owed the public and yourself at that time, and perfectly consistent with that strict honor and impartiality from which I have never known you in any instance to deviate; whilst I regard *one* [Col. Duer], who, after having under the most sacred protestations of friendship and secrecy engaged me to write to him without reserve my opinion of men and of measures in France, made his court to the French Minister at Philadelphia by sending him copies of my most secret and confidential letters, in a very different light. But this is not a time to enter farther on this subject, nor do I mean by the contrast to pay my court to you at the expence of anyone. I well know that the only way to reinstate myself in your good opinion is to convince you that I have neither acted a base or fraudulent or treacherous part; and the distress into which I have

been plunged, though partly owing to imprudence on my part, has not been merited by anything criminal in my conduct. Were I conscious of having been guilty either of fraud or treachery, you would be the last of all my former acquaintance and friends that I should attempt to justify myself to, sensible that I could not long deceive or impose on you, and that a detection must only serve to sink me beyond all possibility of hope or claim for the esteem or favorable opinion of any one honest man in the world. Unless you have been greatly misinformed, you must before this have known that from my return to France in 1780 to this time I have been in distress, and never extravagant. You must know what sums of public money ever came into my hands from my first entering the public service to my quitting it, and from that circumstance alone that I must be very far from being a public defaulter; and Doctor Franklin, who was an eye-witness of my conduct, and has for several years since had my accounts and every possible means in his hands for detection, had I been guilty of fraud, publicly acquits me of any. What, then, are the pretended crimes for which I have been persecuted and driven into exile and poverty, on account of which it is deemed a crime in America to correspond with me, or to say one word in my defence? From my return to America in 1778 to this time I have been in a private capacity, without public money which I could embezzle, or trust that I could betray. I had been taught to presume that every citizen of a free State had an inherent and unquestionable right to examine and to give his opinion of public measures, and that, however wild and extravagant it might be, it never could be charged against him as a crime, though it might subject him to ridicule. Presuming on this right, and apprehension for the fate of my country, I ventured to speak and to write what I at the time thought on the state of our affairs, and on what to me appeared to be the wisest measures that could be taken. Though I

was deceived, yet a comparison of my letters intercepted and published with those which arrived safe, and with my conversation at the time, shew that I was sincere, and had no intention to deceive or mislead others. Is there an instance to be found in the history of the world of a citizen of a free State having been declared inimical, and even a traitor, in such a case? To suppose me to have written and conversed from the sordid and interested motives of bribes, pensions, and expectations from this government, is too ridiculous to merit serious notice. Had those been my motives, had I sold myself to this government, this must have been the last method I should have taken to serve it. It is necessary, in order to betray, to have, or to acquire, the confidence of those we mean to betray. I had at that time, in a great measure, lost the confidence of my countrymen. You know well by what means. I was simply an individual, without public trust of any kind, and without friends, fortune, or connections to give my opinion or sentiments any weight or influence. Thus situated, I could not possibly be an object worthy of the attention of this or of any government, unless I had undertaken to act the part of a Sempronius, and to have bellowed out for independancy and to rail at Britain until I could acquire confidence so far as to serve the cause of our enemies; but I took a part quite the reverse, and made no secret of my sentiments. Could the enemy have been induced to publish my letters at the time they did, had they regarded me as being in their interest, they could not be ignorant that by publishing them at a time when success had filled every head and heart in the United States with too much joy to admit of any attention to reasonings or forebodings on a subject then decided could answer no purpose but to expose me to the abuse and ridicule of my countrymen, and to deprive me of all future influence in the United States. Was not this acting the part of enemies rather than of friends to me? But few, if any, act without some certain object in view, and it is very rare

that any one engages himself a disinterested volunteer in the service of those he has been opposing; yet I must have acted in this manner if guilty of having deserted the cause of my country. My circumstances from 1780 to this hour shew that I have been in distress, which everyone who knows me knows that I never was before. Doctor Franklin, Mr. Beaumarchais, Monsr. Monthieu, and others, know what my funds have been, and whence obtained for my support, on the very small remains of which subsisting, *not living*. I have not kept a servant or ventured into a hackney coach, except in a storm, since I have been in this country; such is the œconomy to which I am forced by my misfortunes. Though these facts are well known in this country, I can expect no commiseration or relief. I dare not ask for it. I know that the part I formerly acted is remembered here. To disclose my circumstances to any one here would not procure me either commiseration or relief, and to expose them to my countrymen in America would afford a triumph to my enemies, and afflict my few friends there to no purpose; and I unbosom myself thus far to you in confidence, not from the expectation of relief in my circumstances from you, but to convince you that my conduct has been sincere and disinterested, however imprudent it may have been, and that my misfortunes, though partly chargeable to want of prudence, are not the consequence of any want of rectitude in me. I regard the fate of my country to be by no means decided. The subject or burthen of my letters in 1781 was the apprehension that independant sovereignty would prove a curse, rather than a blessing. General Washington in his circular letter says that the question is still undecided. In my opinion it depends in a great measure on you and him, and a number, not a great one, of others like you, to prevent the curse, and to realize the blessing; and I as sincerely wish you success in the arduous undertaking as if I were to share with you in the glory; and though that is impossible, yet I am anxious,

whether you succeed or not, that you should be convinced that I am not, nor ever have been, an enemy to the liberty and happiness of my country.

The newspaper writers of this country are as mischievously busy as those of ours. Since my arrival I have been made by them to visit the Duke of Portland, Lord North, Mr. Fox, and to be intimate with General Arnold, to have furnished Lord Sheffield with materials for a pamphlet on American commerce, &c. I can only assure you, and I have no interest to deceive you, that there is not the least foundation in truth for any of these reports, but that I have lived since my being in London in such obscurity that I have no acquaintance in it, except of some private individuals. I gave you, in my unfortunate letter, my opinion as to our commerce under independance, and experience alone can determine if I was right or not. To that I refer, sincerely wishing that it may prove me to have been in an error.

I have made out a long letter, which indeed has no reference to what is to follow; but I may without impropriety remind you that, agreeable to your orders, I interested you, jointly with me, for one hundred thousand livres in the cargo sent out by Capt. Roach and Mr. Bromfield; that you advanced no part of the outfits, as by agreement nothing was to be advanced until the return of the voyage, that on presumption that more than an equivalent to the outfits had been returned. We made at my chambers in Philadelphia a division of what remained, in which you took your proportion as a proprietor for fifty thousand livres. On my return to France I could never obtain of Mr. Chaumont any account of the returns of that adventure, though he had taken out of my banker's hands the full one hundred thousand livres for payment of the outfit, and converted the whole of the returns to his own use. When I pushed him hard on this subject he pretended to say that he had in part accounted, and among other articles produced a draught from Mr. Ross

for your use on that accompt for fifteen thousand livres, which he had paid. Soon after this he, by ordinance de surseance, put himself and effects out of the reach of any of his creditors, and gave me no further insight into his accompts with me, thus holding one hundred thousand livres of my money, advanced for that cargo, in his hands, with the avails of the returns, and a much larger sum on other accompts, of which I have now almost lost all hopes. But you will see, that, without having advanced anything, you received your dividend in Philadelphia of Capt. Roach, and by Mr. Ross fifteen thousand livres in France; whilst except the sum which I received at Philadelphia, the same as yours received there, I am 100,000 livres out, for the one half of which you stood engaged. I submit it to your justice, therefore, to restore me the 15,000 livres received by Mr. Ross for you, on accompt of the supposed profits of a voyage then unsettled, and in which to this hour I am a loser the whole of the capital. You must remember the unfortunate affair in which Capt. Bell embarked, and on which account your late brother deposited monies in the hands of Mr. Soulier, of which I drew out for that expedition, on your accompt, upwards of forty thousand livres. Also, that in Philadelphia, in 1779, Mr. Pennett first charged that sum as so much received by me on your accompt; but that on an examination of the books of Congress, it was found that he had charged the sum to their accompt, soon after which he declared that to be a false, erroneous charge, and turned it over to the accompt of that adventure; but on my arrival in France I found that he had made a fresh turn, and charged it to me as so much received of him on account of Congress. Now, if you recollect, you must know that not one sou of that money was received by me, or applied to any use or purpose of mine, and that I am by no means accountable for any part of the loss in the enterprize. The art of chicanery of Eyries, the most finished of villains, defeated a well laid plan.

Mons. Beaumarchais was guarantee for Eyries, and in his hands I left, on my leaving France, a power to recover the money. I know not if he has done it. I suspect not; for Eyries has almost ever since been in foreign parts. But, at any rate, I ought not to stand charged on the books of Congress for any part of that sum, which was your money, taken by me, and disposed of, by your order, on a private adventure. I have, therefore, in combating of this charge, referred to you on the subject. Your letters, and those of your deceased brother, are full in my justification against this charge from Congress; but I am confident that I need not to produce them, as you must have the transaction, and the orders you gave me, in your memory and in your books. Mr. Barclay informed me some time since that he had received orders to settle all the public accounts of Congress in Europe, but had no orders to pay the balances. Tho' I could but ill afford an expensive journey to Paris, I should before this have gone there, had I judged it consistent with my personal safety, which I can by no means persuade myself of. My situation is indeed very singular. I have no nation that would claim me, if sentenced to expiate ministerial resentment in the Bastile or in the Chatelet, and I know from expressions which the Minister and his first secretary let fall to an intimate friend of mine, that their resentment is extremely severe against me on more accounts than what they are ready to avow. Unfortunate as I am, I still enjoy personal liberty, and am in almost the only country in Europe in which neither monarch nor minister can deprive me of it; but in France no man is more or better than a prisoner at large, and he who has personally offended the court owes every moment of his liberty to the clemency of the Minister. Monsr. Linguet offended the court, and fled into Flanders. After several years he obtained a permission to return to Paris, on his private affairs, where, notwithstanding the permission granted him, he was seized on and sent

to the Bastile. Not a friend of his, though he had money, dared to intercede for him. They did not know where he was, whether in the Bastile or in some distant prison. At length, after a long and rigorous confinement, on his taking a solemn oath not to reveal anything which he had either seen or suffered within that terrestrial hell, and that he would instantly retire into exile, in one of the remote provinces of France, and not leave the kingdom, he was set at liberty. As he regarded his oath no way binding on him, he escaped without loss of time into this country, where he has lately published an account of what he saw, heard, and suffered in that horrid prison. With such an example before my eyes, and my own knowledge of similar transactions, I cannot easily bring myself to run the hazard. I have, therefore, transmitted all my accompts to Mr. Barclay, and proposed to meet him or Mr. Ridley in the Low Countries for a settlement. As he thinks it would be very inconvenient for either of them to comply with my request, I shall send Mr. Sebor with my accompts and vouchers to Paris, with power to close them at almost any loss. For though I can ill afford to lose one sou of my due, yet I had better sacrifice the one half than remain longer in my present situation. As you have received fifteen thousand livres in France, on the supposed profits of an adventure for which you advanced nothing, and on account of which I advanced one hundred thousand livres, the one half on your account, I hope that you will at least judge it but reasonable to return me that money. When Mr. Ross was in distress for money to answer his engagements for Congress and to compleat his contracts, I prevailed with Doctor Franklin, my colleague, to consent to advance him 450,000 livres out of the public money, by which I sacrificed my own interest materially; for our contract for the £40,000 sterling of goods, on which I was entitled to five per cent commission, might have been compleated by me had I urged any prior right to that money. Mr. Ross,

indeed, pretended to no right, but urged for it as what would be a favor to him and of service to the public, and with that view alone I consented, and prevailed on Doctor Franklin to consent, though reluctantly, to it. Under these circumstances, I looked on it as hard in Mr. Ross to take advantage of your general power to him, to take money out of an unsettled adventure towards which he well knew that you had not advanced any thing. I hope you will excuse the length of this letter, and forgive me for any uneasiness which my former political ones may have given you. I have suffered already more than sufficiently by past imprudence, ever to be again led into the like. Any letter directed to me, to care of Sir Robert Herries, will find me. My most sincere wishes are for your happiness and prosperity, both domestic and public, and I am ever, with great Esteem, Sir,

Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Hon. Robert Morris, Esq.

Thomas Mss

TO MOSES MYERS.

London, Oct. 15th, 1783.

SIR,—I am at a loss to account for your not having sent me the letters, which in April last you told me you had for me, from Mr. Isaac Moses; also for your not having obliged me with an account of the bills remitted to your house; also of my share of the cargo of tobacco sent from Philadelphia. I must hope that, notwithstanding the long neglect of this, you will still favor me both with the one and the other as soon as possible.

I am, Sir, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Moses Myers.

Thomas Mss.

TO ISAAC MOSES.

SIR,—I wrote you the 25th, of July past, to which I refer, as also to mine of the 29th, April; but, to my great surprize, am still without the letters which Mr. Myers told me he had received from you for me, and without any account of the bills I remitted to your house in St. Eustatia, or of the cargo sent there in which I was interested. I shall write him one more letter on the subject; but after six months neglect, I have very little reason to expect any thing, unless, perhaps, by your interposition. Though I am conscious to myself that I do not merit this treatment, nor can I conceive it possible for any man to merit the like from one with whom he has had dealings and accompts still unclosed, I am confident that you will do me justice, as I have in no shape either injured or deceived you, knowingly or intentionally. I have suffered, from the mismanagement and infidelity of those I relied on in France, during my unfortunate voyage to Philadelphia, a reverse and loss of fortune which very few of my countrymen have experienced; and what I stand alone in is, that after having faithfully served my countrymen, and, unsupported by them, supplied them with arms and stores, without which they must in 1777 have submitted. I am, for having in 1781 given my opinion on the state of our public affairs, and my advice on the measures then to me apparently the best to be pursued, in private letters—for these I am censured and proscribed as an enemy and a traitor, a fate which no man perhaps ever before experienced, and what no free governments, and but few despotic ones, ever permitted; but neither this, nor any thing which the rage and violence of a misguided populace are capable of, will ever make me an enemy of my country. My first wishes are, that none of the evils which I apprehended in 1781, or which I may still weakly fear, may ever befall

my country ; but that she may enjoy peace, internal and external ; that good government, order, and universal harmony may prevail in the United States ; that our agriculture, with arts and sciences, may flourish ; and that our commerce may know no limit but those of the globe ; and that we and our descendants to the latest ages may have reason to reflect with pleasure on the late revolution, and to bless the authors of it. Whether this will be the case or not does not in the least degree depend on me. I have now neither influence or fortune left me sufficient either to promote, or in the least to obstruct, any measures in any country. But in whatever light you have been led to view me for some time since, politics have nothing to do, at least they ought not to have, with the commercial intercourse of individuals ; and therefore I rely on it that at least what has passed between us in that way will be closed by you in a just and honorable manner. News I have none more than what the papers announce. Extensive failures in France have been taken place for some time past, and finally the General Bank at Paris has stopped payment. I hope you will not suffer by any of them.

Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Isaac Moses.

Thomas Mss.

EDWARD BANCROFT TO BARNABAS DEANE.

Philadelphia, Oct. 18th, 1783.

SIR,—I arrived here about three weeks ago, and have kept the inclosed letter until now for want of a safe private conveyance. I presume that Mr. Sebor will soon be with you, and bring over some papers which will make it expedient for you to come hither ; but I think it will be advisable for you to defer your journey until the month of March next, because the circumstances

of Mr. Wharton and of Mr. Trent will not, as far as I can learn, admit of an advantageous conclusion of that business at present, and because I shall otherwise miss the pleasure of meeting you here, being under the necessity of shortly setting out for Charleston, South Carolina, to recover a very great sum of money due from that State to the Prince of Luxembourg. I expect, however, to return to this city by or before the first of March, and if you can make it convenient to come here by the middle of that month, I think you need not doubt of finding me by enquiring of the Honourable Robert Morris. I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most Obedient & very Humble Servant,
EDWD. BANCROFT.

To Barnabas Deane, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

London, October 19th, 1783.

SIR,—I am informed by Col. Wadsworth and others lately from Paris that it was currently reported of me that I was intimate with General Arnold, and that a pamphlet lately published by Lord Sheffield owed to me most of the facts and observations contained in it. I have found by experience that from the moment a man becomes unpopular every report which any way tends to his prejudice is but too readily credited without the least examination or proof, and that for him to attempt to contradict them in public is like an attack on the hydra; for every falsehood detected and calumny obviated several new ones of the same family come forward. This has well nigh rendered me callous to the attacks made on me in this way; yet it is impossible for me not to wish to stand fair in the opinion of those with whom I formerly acted, with whose confidence and friendship I have been more particularly

honored, and this occasions me troubling you with this letter. Though you have condemned me of having been guilty of great imprudence (and that justly), yet I have the satisfaction to know that you are still convinced of my integrity and fidelity whilst in the service of my country, and whilst I had the honor of being your colleague; and I wish to remove from your mind, if possible, every idea of my having acted an unfriendly part toward the interest of my country, or of my having countenanced so notorious an enemy as General Arnold by associating with him since my arrival in this city. The next day after my being in London, when I had no reason to suspect that any one knew any thing of me save those to whom I had sent notice of my being in town, and of my lodgings, I was surprized to find General Arnold introduced into my chamber without being announced by my landlord until he opened the door (my circumstances do not permit me to keep a servant). Several gentlemen were with me, and among others Mr. Hodge of Philadelphia. I can most sincerely say that I never was more embarrassed; and after a few questions on either part, and as cold a civility as I could use consistent with common decency, he took his leave. You well know that he is one who never wanted for assurance or address, and, as if we had been on our former footing, he urged me, at parting, to dine with him, which I civilly declined. The next day I changed my lodgings, and received from him repeatedly cards of invitation to his house, which I declined accepting, and in a few days he again called on me, at my new lodgings, in the same unceremonious manner as before. A gentleman from America was then with me, and remained in my chamber until he left me. On my parting with him on the stairs, I told him very freely that his visits were disagreeable to me, and could be of no service to him; that I could not return them, except that I might call with Mr. Sebor some evening to pay our respects to Mrs. Arnold, from whom I had received

so many civilities in Philadelphia. This we did a few evenings after, and from that time, now more than five months since, I have not seen him, except in his carriage, passing me in the street. I accidentally became acquainted with Lord Sheffield a few days after my being in town. I had no previous knowledge of his political character, nor was I interested to enquire what it was. I had no knowledge of his intention, if in reality he then had any, of writing on American commerce, and of course I answered his queries on the subject without reference; there could be no ground for any, for the answers which I gave afforded no kind of information not to be had from thousands of persons as well or better informed on the subject, or even from the Custom House books. I had but little acquaintance with any one in London, and his lordship's polite attention to me, a stranger, naturally led me to visit him often, and without ceremony, and to form an intimate acquaintance in his family. When he informed me of his design of writing on the subject, we had many conversations on it, and in presence of persons of note, particularly of Sir Robert Herries, who, with his lordship, can testify what my sentiments and mode of reasoning was, and that I differed materially from those contained in the pamphlet. Yet such has been my fate, that simply from my acquaintance and known intimacy with his lordship, I have had those arguments and principles, which I opposed, attributed to me. His object is to secure to this country the carrying trade, and to preserve the Navigation Act from being in any degree altered. My arguments have been to show that the carrying trade, beyond a certain degree, cannot be retained by this country. That it is, in fact, already in great part irrecoverably gone into other hands, and that the Navigation Act, though wisely formed for the period when it passed, wants many alterations to adapt it to the present times; and like all other acts which respect commerce, that it ought to be made conformable to the present circum-

stances. This, sir, is a true state of everything that gives the least foundation for those reports. And I have been the more particular that you, from a knowledge of the whole, may judge if I have merited the censures put on me on their account. I know none of the Ministers of this country, unless it be by sight. I have not, or ever had, any conversation with any of them. Yet the papers have mentioned my frequenting their levees, dining with them, &c. It would be endless to take notice of every report of this kind, and therefore I let them pass; but whenever a report to my disadvantage is likely to make an impression on one for whose good opinion I am so solicitous as for yours, and one whom I think disposed to do me justice, it becomes a duty to him, as well as to myself, to place the whole in its true point of light. I most sincerely thank you for your wishes that my conduct may in future be such as to regain that esteem and confidence of my countrymen which I once enjoyed; but such new and groundless reports, daily arising and so easily gaining credit, make me almost despair of it. But of this you may be assured, that nothing shall ever force me to be what these reports would represent me to be, unfriendly to the interests and prosperity of my country. You will excuse the length of this letter, by Col. Wadsworth. On his return to France, I hope to put every objection to the settlement of my accompts out of the way, and to obtain a final settlement. In the meantime I have the honor to be, with great respect, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servt.,

S. DEANE.

His Excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esq.

Holbrooke Mss.

TO SALTONSTALL AND MUMFORD.

London, Oct. 28th, 1783.

GENTLEMEN,—I received your favor of the 16th, of August and note the contents. Be assured that if any

thing fall within my power to serve you it shall not pass unimproved by me, but at present the prospect of consignments from Europe is by no means promising. This country has already regained the most of our trade, and the merchants prefer selling to consigning, and consignments from France are generally not worth attending to. I think that you will do well in obtaining consignments from our own countrymen in Connecticut in the West India business, and in purchasing what they want in return. I am sorry that you are so deeply in the list of those who have suffered by the ingratitude or injustice or weakness of Congress, but you have time before you to repair your losses in, which some who have suffered more severely by them have not. Your letters under cover to Mr. Geyer will come safe to my hands.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Messrs. Saltonstall & Mumford.

Thomas Mss.

TO SAMUEL B. WEBB.

London, Oct. 31st, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—I owe to you, as well as to myself, the following state of affairs, in which we are both of us interested. In 1761 I undertook the settlement of your late father's estate. It was a critical period. He had given a most unlimited credit, and to bad subjects. The estate owed in New York about thirty thousand pounds, and when the creditors met and compared their demands, they would willingly have compounded for ten shillings on the pound. This induced them to give every facility in their power for remittances, and by the sale of vessels and cargoes, and the transfer of notes, the debts were finally paid, and there remained visibly a considerable balance. I say visibly; for more than £2,000 was

due from Chapin, an equal sum from Bingham, £1,000 from S. Nott, and others, who really never ought to have been credited to the amount of ten pounds. The old securities were changed, and taken in the name of your late mother or in mine; but this by no means lessened the responsibility of the debtors. From my first entering into your family I appropriated nothing to myself. When I was forced to leave my country, I left in your brother's hands every paper and every security that respected your family. In 1774 I made out an exact inventory of every thing in my hands, and brought all your accounts into a state for closing, and when I left America the last time, I gave your brother a power to settle the accounts of the estate, and, that it might be done in equity, I proposed that the General Assembly should appoint auditors, or referees, with full power to do justice to all parties. Your brother has not made use of this power, for what reason I know not, yet I am told that he pretends that I am a debtor to your family to a large amount. I pray you to ask him to shew you the accounts made out by Mr. Joyce, under my direction. You will then be able to judge for yourself. Before I left America I saw with pain the extravagant course into which your brother was going, and I am sorry to learn that he has pursued it. It is a delicate subject; but necessity forces me to say that I find him disposed to impute his ruin to me, and, therefore, I must urge you to examine for yourself into the state of his affairs, so far as they respect you. Reflect, for one moment, that I spent near ten years of the prime of my life in the service of your family, in settling the accounts, and in superintending your education; that I secreted nothing; that I left in your brother's hands every thing of which I was possessed; that I did not bring away with me one shilling of effects of any kind. How, then, can I be your debtor? Mr. Alsop, Mr. Jauncey, and others, can witness to the fidelity and address with which I settled your late father's accounts; but I

know not how your brother has labored to persuade himself and others that you were entitled to an immense fortune, and he has lived up to the reality of it, though merely ideal. This has involved him in difficulties, and I am sorry to find him disposed to attribute them to me, rather than to their real source. I have met with misfortunes enough from other quarters, without this cutting one of being deemed a debtor where I have bestowed benefits. But I flatter myself that you will do me justice. Examine the accounts, and do yourself justice, and I shall be satisfied. I am willing, I have for years past urged, that auditors should be appointed to settle every thing in equity. Why cannot it be done? If they find me a debtor or defaulter, I must account; but how unjust to charge me with being one without the least proof, and when the means for ascertaining the fact are in your brother's power. It gives me extreme pain to trouble you on this subject; but I think you to be both honest and brave, and therefore that you will take measures for doing justice to yourself, as well as to me.

You must excuse the incorrectness of this letter, for I am very weak, and scarcely able to sit in my chair while I write, but am unwilling to miss this opportunity of writing to you. Colonel Wadsworth is here. He is your friend, of which I trust that you are sensible. He wishes for your interest that your affairs in Wethersfield were all settled, and that you had no farther connection, in point of business, there. God only knows when, or if I shall ever, return to America. Every thing has gone against me since 1778; but I must be patient. Wishing you every thing which may tend to promote your happiness, I am most affectionately yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Col. S. B. Webb.


Thomas Mss.

TO BARNABAS DEANE.

London, Nov. 3d, 1783.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I received yours by Colonel Wadsworth ; but as he had orders to deliver it with his own hands, and was so long in France, I began to suspect you had not wrote by him. You say that goods come unusually dear from hence. You could expect no other from the mode you took to procure them ; you gave your money to establish the credit of another, who, in return for the favor, turned over to you such goods as he pleased, at the highest credit price. I plainly saw this at the time, and, though sorry for any loss you might sustain, hoped it might lead you to reflect that you had a brother in Europe, and with him one well skilled in goods, who would have been glad of barely a commission to help him to live ; but in future, if you mean to be well served, send to Mr. Geyer. I know that he can lay in goods full fifteen per cent. cheaper than any American agent or factor sent over. You say that, from the reports of my friends, you apprehend that my misfortunes have affected my spirits and turned me towards a melancholy state, against which you caution me. I thank you for the advice, but shall be doubly obliged to you for a prescription to prevent that fatal, soul annihilating disorder. Indeed I am not gay ; I am not naturally so inclined ; and it is now some years since I have had anything to dispel gloom and to excite gayety. I have at times been very low in spirits ; my health has suffered by it, but I still survive, though lately very ill, and still so weak as to be confined to my chamber ; but a consciousness of integrity supports me. I hold it fast, and, like good old Job, neither man nor devil (and I know some men who are vastly his superior) shall ever make me let it go. I wrote you so largely by my son and by subsequent conveyances that I have little to add in this. I pray you to give so much

attention to my affairs therein mentioned, as to make me some kind of remittances as soon as possible. You are careful, in every one of your letters, to tell me that you was a loser, or that you have not settled your accounts with Congress on the affair of the frigate. I ought not, perhaps, to blame you for what I have myself been guilty of in a case somewhat similar, but you were on the spot, and had the means in your hands for doing yourself justice, and the contract with the goods sent you was a very advantageous affair, and when I last saw you I was told that it had turned out well. Whatever may be in my favor, with whatever can be collected for me, I am in real want of. The insinuations of John Webb are as base as they are ungrateful; but his folly and extravagance have led him to the brink of a precipice, down which he cares not who he draws with him. At the expence of the prime of my life I saved the estate from bankruptcy, and educated the family, who now treat me with the basest ingratitude, with being their debtor, with having embezzled their effects. But is this any great matter? I ventured at the hazard of my life, at the most critical period of our affairs, to solicit succour for my country in Europe; and though unsupported by Congress, who never remitted me one shilling, I obtained those arms and stores which in 1777 prevented my country from submitting to the enemy, and rendered them victorious. What has been my reward? To be branded as a traitor, a peculator, &c. O my brother, what a monster is human nature when it looks out in an ungrateful form! And how greatly have I been to blame in credulously relying and reposing my fortune and fame on the gratitude and justice of men, whose interest it has been (as they at least supposed) to ruin me. But the subject will indeed make me melancholy, and I am but too much disposed that way on every return of ill health, which shuts the doors of my chambers, introduces at the same time a painful recollection of the ingratitude and



injustice I have suffered, and this it is not in the power of medicine to expel. I would not, however, for any consideration, change my situation for that of my enemies. I have been guilty of many errors and weaknesses, but never of infidelity to my trust, or of ingratitude or injustice to my fellowmen. You ask me when I shall return to America? When I see things in a more settled state than at present they appear to be, and when I shall be secure either from insult or personal abuse. As yet I have no certainty of either; and in your letters you say nothing on the subject, and I construe your silence, as is natural on such occasions. I wrote by my son for some trifles meerly to oblige a few friends here, and hope you will not fail to order them out. You have only to send them to Mr. Shaler, and to pray him to send them to Mr. Geyer by some careful hand. But in particular I must again urge you to remember the two horses I wrote for some time since. I would not have them shipped before April, and pray have them entrusted to some careful person; you may, if you please, insure their value in America, and give a little extra freight or premium on condition of their safe arrival. There must be some trouble in this small commission, but it will greatly oblige those who may and who have it in their power to retaliate, and who will not fail to do it. I shall set out in a few days for the country, for the recovery of my health. My address, which I sent out by my son, I hope that you will be able to publish; that is, that the times will be such as to bear the publication of it. As frequent opportunities present, I shall write as any thing occurs, or simply to relieve my mind. My compliments to G. Wylls, Esq.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Barnabas Deane, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

TO SIMEON DEANE.

London, Nov. 3d, 1783.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I received yours from New York, and am sorry to hear of your ill health and of your misfortunes. You say that you had received no letters from me for near two years. I assure you that I have wrote more than twenty in that time, tho' not one of yours has come to my hands. But I have lived to see such things that I am surprised at nothing; nor will any thing surprise me in future, unless the conduct of our leading men should of a sudden become just the reverse of what for the last four or five years past it has been. This would indeed be a joyful surprise. Though become almost callous to reproach, and inured to misfortunes and to the *treacherous conduct* of pretended friends, yet I have struggled hard, during a gloomy exile, in a gloomy, hurried country, to keep my spirits from entirely deserting me, and those struggles have at times greatly affected my health. A few days before the receipt of yours I became quite angry with you on account of your neglect of me, and wrote you a severe letter; but yours arriving before I sent it away, I threw it into the fire, with this reflection: that no set of men ever were guilty of greater meanness and cruelty in intercepting the correspondence of absent friends than what our sovereign lords and masters have been. Their cruelty has been wanton; for since the publication of my unfortunate letters, I have not hinted at politics in any of my letters. You mention the difficulties you have met with in Virginia. I expected nothing less; but I thought you had been concerned with better men in the molassas cargo. You have settled with Sabbatier & Co., through their agent, Mr. Holker. You must therefore have a discharge. Send me an attested copy; nothing short of that will enable me to do any thing. For in France, except bankers and some capital

houses, to leave money or a balance in the hands of one with whom you have an unsettled account, is the same thing as to make him a present of it. Their laws are, if possible, worse than those of which you complain. I wish you had been more explicit in your letter. Have you resolved to quit Virginia entirely? And what are your future views? I wish exceedingly to know the outlines of your plan. You doubtless wish as much to know mine; but really I have none. Quite at sea, without a compass or a friendly star to direct my course, my frail and ill provided bark must still drive as chance or accident shall impel. I begin to regard my demand on Congress as desperate. They have long since wanted both the will and ability to do justice to those who have saved them. Is there an instance where any man has reposed an unreserved confidence in them and their promises of his not being deceived? Those who never had any confidence in them, and they only, have not been disappointed. The large sum of mine in Chaumont's hands is effectually secured to him and his heirs forever, by an *arret de surseance*, by which concise method a man in France, who has friends at court, may enjoy the property of his creditors to perpetuity. The failure, or rather the stop, of our friend at Nantes, and for so large a sum, is surprizing; and is one proof, among many others, that from various causes, needless to be enumerated, our commerce with France can not answer. He also has obtained an *arret*; but I think him too honest to make any undue use of it. However it may be, it will not affect me, as we have no unclosed transactions. I have been in this city since April, waiting to hear from you and our Barnabas Deane at Hartford, and to learn what turn affairs were likely to take in our country. If tranquillity, good order, and our old manners and principles return and prevail, I would lose no time in returning, to wipe off the obloquy thrown on me, which, were the country in this temper, might easily be done; after which I should

be at liberty to strike at something for a moderate subsistence. But the accounts received from America are but discouraging on this subject ; still I cannot but hope that on the meeting of our General Assembly this fall, the majority will become sensible of the absolute necessity of giving more energy to government, and of suppressing the committee system. If not, licentiousness must take its course, and general anarchy ensue, with all and more than all the evils which I apprehended in 1781 ; and in such case, any country, even a despotic one, will be preferable to our own. We have authorised Congress to make peace, and to enter into treaties, &c., and have pledged *our faith and our sacred honor* to abide by them, and to fulfil them ; yet no sooner is a treaty of peace, every way favorable to us, solemnly entered into by Congress, than the *respectable citizens or inhabitants*, or officers and privates of towns, districts, or battalions of militia assemble, and magnanimously resolve that certain articles of the treaty shall not be complied with. Can any thing be more ridiculous ? Even our allies, whose great object is to keep alive an implacable animosity between this country and ours, must secretly condemn such conduct, the least symptoms of which in their own subjects would be instantly punished with the wheel and gibbet. But they wish not only to perpetuate animosities, they also wish to see our government and civil police continue in the same weak and inefficient state in which it is at present. As to our commerce, they have made ample experiment of it, and can expect nothing from it. It has already left them, and every other part of the continent, and returned to its old and natural center, and it is an object of no small importance to prevent our political connections taking the same turn ; and whilst animosities and violence can be pushed so far as to bear down all legislative restraint among us, and all authority be effectively vested in the common people at large, and their committees, so long their purpose is answered. But, in the mean

time, how truly wretched must be the situation of our country! May God prevent what I fear! My hopes are that the majority of my countrymen may be convinced of the necessity of having a government of greater energy than the present. If not, and if the present temper continue and prevail, it can be no country to return to, much less for strangers to emigrate to. I shall pass the winter in, or near, London, and expect to hear frequently from you, and that you will be explicit in your letters as to the temper of the people, with respect to me in particular. I have several branches in view, which must succeed in America, if times become tolerable; but I cannot think of attempting to pursue any of them in a country where I may be exposed to be insulted or despised. I will much sooner endure the extremes of poverty, or seek for better fortune in a foreign land. The man who told you that the mills I mentioned were built in Long Island for 100 dollars, had no idea of those which I refer to, one of which could not, at the cheapest rate, be built under ten times that sum. But until I know where you mean to fix, with some other particulars, I cannot say any thing more to any purpose on this subject. Trade has undoubtedly been profitable to first adventurers from this country since the peace; but will it continue to be so? Foreigners complain that they can sell their goods for next to nothing, and obtain no freights back. This is natural. Every rational man must have expected it; but can we go on purchasing of British goods, and paying for them? Our specie, silver, and gold are on the wing for Europe. What channels are open for its return to us, in the natural course of things? I hope there are many, but I am ignorant of them at present. It is probable that some settled and permanent plan will be proposed in Parliament, which opens in a few days, as to our intercourse with the British West Indies, and for our trade with this country; but I have no hopes, no grounds for any, that either will be on the antient

footing, or any way near it, tho' they may be rendered tolerable. The war has not reduced this country to the necessity of courting our trade by any national sacrifices. The manufacturers have full employ, and every branch of business flourishes to a greater degree than ever. The loss of America is already forgotten, except in some party debates and writings, and there the principal question is, whether, on the whole, it be a loss. The trade, the wealth and manufactures and navigation of this city alone is astonishing, even to one who has seen Amsterdam and the other great trading cities on the continent. I think that after this year the most profitable business in our country, either for individuals or the public, will be some certain branches of manufactures of the grossest kind, and such as can be carried on by mills and machines, but with little manual labor. To this I have given some attention, and examined every machine which has been in my way, but can resolve on nothing until I know more of your circumstances and views, and of the turn which things are likely to take in America. And if I can have any encouragement to return or not, yet somewhere I must go, and something I must do, and that soon; next spring at the farthest. Meantime do not fail to write, and by every opportunity. I am most affectionately yours, &c.

S. DEANE.

Mr Simeon Deane.

Thomas Mss.

TO SAMUEL AND MOSES MEYERS.

London, Nov. 4th, 1783.

GENTLEMEN,—I have only time to say, in answer to yours of the 28th, that the certificates to which you refer are not, nor ever were, in my hands, but in the hands of Mr. Holker of Philadelphia, lodged with him as Consul-General of France. He gave me a general

certificate of his having them, with an obligation to deliver them to my order. Their amount was 100,000 dollars, 40,000 of which were the property of Mr. Moses, and I have long since given orders to have them delivered up, as I was unable to sell them in Europe, which was the original design of taking them out. You surprize me in speaking of an account of bills of exchange received by me of Mr. Moses. Have you any such receipt? I do not recollect my ever receiving a single one of him. I brought none with me to France. It is true that he paid, I think, a bill of £200 sterling to Mr. Murray for a right in the Illinois and Wabash lands, of which he was one-half purchaser; but my brother repaid him soon after I left America, and I know of no other bill accompt; but I left a power with my brother to settle and close my accompt with Mr. Moses, who had other effects of mine in his hands; and I have repeatedly wrote to Mr. Moses, twice since my being in this city, for his accompts, and that he would settle it with my brother. I hope that it is by this time done, and that I shall soon receive it.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Messrs. Saml. & Moses Myers, Amsterdam.

Thomas Mss.

TO JOHN JAY.

Fleet Street, No. 135, Nov. 4th, 1783.

SIR,—I did myself the honor of calling to wait on you yesterday, and was not so fortunate as to find you at home. I should have paid you a much earlier visit, but have been for the most of the time since your arrival confined to my chamber, and a few days since was told that you had set out for Bath; but hearing yesterday morning that you were still in town, I immediately set out to wait on you. This apology is necessary to remove any appearance of neglect on my

part, of which I cannot suffer myself to be guilty towards you. Your servant told me that you intended to leave town on Thursday. This makes me impatient to have one hour's conversation with you previously, and that we may not be interrupted, ask, if agreeable to you, that you will appoint an hour when we may not be interrupted. I am, with much sincerity,

Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Hon. John Jay, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

TO THOMAS BARCLAY.

London, Nov. 7th, 1783.

SIR,—In yours of the 16th, of Sept., you observe “that all the accounts depending with the United States will be reduced to three classes—those that may be clearly and decidedly admitted; those that, perhaps, for want of some regularity, or clearing up, must be referred to the immediate inspection of Congress; and those which, being improper or unreasonable, there will be a necessity of rejecting entirely;” and add that, without seeing the authorities under which I acted, you cannot pretend to form any opinion about my accompts. Permit me to assure you that I have never entertained the least doubt of your impartiality on the subject of my accounts, and only wish it were in your power to settle them, as you in equity should, on examination, judge that they ought to be closed, or that you were authorised, as I proposed to you at Ghent, to name indifferent persons to judge and decide on any article which might be any way doubtful, or perhaps wanting in regularity; this would save the time and other inconveniences of a reference to Congress on such articles, if any are found in my accounts. To satisfy you with respect to the authorities under which I acted, I send you inclosed a copy of my commission from the Secret Committee, and

an extract of their instructions to me, dated March, 1776; an extract of my contract with the Commercial Committee, by which it appears that I was promised the same commissions as were then allowed to every other factor and agent (*viz.*), 5 per cent.; also a copy of the commission appointing me joint Commissioner Plenipotentiary with Messrs. Franklin and Lee; these, with letters from the Secret Committee, received after my arrival in France, are the authorities under which I acted; and to explain to you the wrong charge made by Soulier against me, I send you an extract of Mr. Robert Morris's letter to me, of the 31st, of January, 1777, which shews whence those monies paid to me by Soulier arose, and for what purpose they were deposited in his hands at my orders. They were the proceeds of the 86 hhds tobacco shipped by Mr. Robert Morris on his private account, and of other remittances made by Mr. Thomas Morris to Soulier, to be disposed of by me in a private adventure. I also send you a copy of Mr. Robert Morris' letter of 30th Dec., 1777, after he was fully informed of the conduct of his unfortunate brother; tho' Mr. Robert Morris, by his letter of 31st, Jan., had fully empowered me to take from his brother the consignment and direction of the above tobacco, and of other effects in his hands, I did not wish to meddle in so delicate an affair, and I was prevailed on not to do it, by many promises on the part of Mr. Thomas Morris of a change of conduct; but more particularly from his and Mr. Pennett's depositing in the hands of Soulier a much larger sum than the value of the tobacco, for my disposal, agreeable to the plan proposed by Mr. Robert Morris. Mr. Thomas Morris' letters of the 27th, May, 1777, and of the 3d, of July following, shew that he had deposited £3,000 sterling with Mr. Soulier, and engaged to advance £1,500 more for the same private expedition. I send you copies of those two letters, which I trust will abundantly convince you that the monies received by me of Soulier were private monies, deposited with him solely for a private purpose, the

management of which I took on myself at the request of Mr. Robert Morris; and no idea ever was entertained of their being public monies until Mr. Pennett, on the failure of his banker Soulier, long after the death of Mr. Thomas Morris, found that they might, with proper management be used in making out his accompts with Congress. All the papers relative to this unfortunate affair were put into the hands of Mr. Beaumarchais, to recover whatever could be obtained of Eyries, who embezzled the whole of the money; and Mr. Robert Morris has repeatedly applied to Mr. Beaumarchais for a settlement, but I know not if he has obtained any or not. However that may be, I am not accountable for those monies, except it be to Mr. Robert Morris in his private capacity. I have vouchers for the money paid by me to officers going out in the service of the United States, and for what I paid to American officers employed in Europe by the commissioners; also for the greater part of my charges for monies advanced to prisoners; but for my private expences I have vouchers but in part; my account is drawn from minutes made at the time as to those small articles, and if vouchers are required for them, I have them not, nor at this distance of time can they be procured; a great part could not have been at the time, but the amount will shew that I was very far from being extravagant; for you will find that from my leaving America in 1776, to my last return to France in August, 1780, the space of four years and seven months, I have charged the public /100,947, 1, 4, or about £4,000 sterling; and if the latter part, that is, my expences, in Philadelphia and returning to France, are deducted, it will be found that for my voyage to France, for two years' expence there in a public character, and for my return, the whole including more then two years and an half, my charges for expence are about 80,000 livres, little more than £3,000 sterling. Can any one suppose but that I must have exceeded that sum, or can it be judged equitable to take from it, on account of want of vouchers for

every particular charge? Deducting the wrong charges in Mr. Grand's and in Mr. Soulier accompts, the neat amount received from them is 183,057, 7, 6; and the sums received of Messrs. Delaps and of Mr. Beaumarchais, credited in my commission accompt, livres 65,216, 9, 10. I am peculiarly unfortunate in not being able to come to Paris, but indeed I cannot think such a step prudent. I know that the most violent prejudices are entertained against me, and I know that persons who have great influence with the Minister have lately let fall expressions of the keenest and most bitter resentment against me; nor am I ignorant that in France there are many ways for apprehending and confining a man in the Chatelet, a prison no way inferior to the Bastille, without the Ministers appearing to have any hand in it; in a word, I know that without the good will of the Minister no man is safe in France; and I have it not, but the contrary. Mr. Sebor is well acquainted with my accounts. I propose to prevail on him to go to Paris and attempt a settlement of them; but as I have now sent you copies of the authorities under which I acted, and a general state of my vouchers, I wish previously to be favored with any observations which you may think fit to make, that I may instruct him how to explain every thing, if possible, to your satisfaction. I can but ill afford the expence of the journey, and of his continuance for any time at Paris, and if I judged it probable that he could not succeed in making a settlement, his journey would be useless. No man can be more interested than what I am for a settlement; for though no one can believe me to be a debtor, yet until I have your certificate that I am not, my character lies at the mercy of every calumniator in America. But two circumstances give me great uneasiness, and almost drive me to despair; the first is, that any article objected to by you, perhaps for want of regularity only, or for any doubt concerning it, must be referred immediately to Congress; this will retard a settlement for years to come; the second, that you have no orders to pay any

balance that may be due. I am willing, from the necessitous situation in which I am, to forego much of my right to obtain a close of the most vexatious business in which any man ever was engaged; and I am confident that nothing consistent with your instructions will be wanting on your part to liberate me. Were you authorised to submit everything on which any doubt might arise, to reference, to the judgment of disinterested persons, the way to a settlement would be clear and opened, and the end of this affair would be in view; but by a reference to Congress of every thing questionable, renders it beyond all bounds in delay. When on an examination of my accounts, you shall find that, independent of questionable articles, there is a balance due to me, are you at liberty to certify it? And are you also at liberty to give your opinion as to those on which, for want of regularity, or on other accounts, some doubt may arise? I will not urge for a meeting with you or Mr. Ridley in Flanders, as your answer to this will enable me to judge if more can be done by such an interview than by a journey of Mr. Sebor to Paris. If agreeable to you to shew this letter to Doctor Franklin, perhaps his sentiments on the subject may be of service to you, as well as to me; but of the propriety of this you must be the judge. I shall direct this to Mr. Ridley, in case of your being absent when it arrives; and am, with great sincerity, yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Thomas Barclay, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

London, Nov. 7th, 1783.

SIR,—I took the liberty a few days since to write you on the subject of certain reports lately propagated to my disadvantage. I hope that the letter came safe to your hands; and I have only to add that I have,

both before and since my writing, improved every opportunity in my power to serve the commerce of our country, particularly to have the restraint on our West India trade taken off; but my acquaintance and influence do not extend beyond a private circle, though what I have said and wrote on that subject may possibly have reached farther. I believe it has, and have some reason to hope that those and some other restraints will be removed or moderated. Whether they are or not, I have done my duty as a private volunteer in the service. I have wrote a long letter to Mr. Barclay, and one to Colonel Wadsworth, on the subject of my accmpts, and hope that what I have said, and the documents which I have transmitted, will facilitate a settlement, for which I am extremely impatient. I propose to send Mr. Sebor to Paris if I can have any prospect of closing by that means my accounts. I have the honor to be, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Doctor Franklin, Paris.

Thomas Mss.

TO JEREMIAH WADSWORTH.

London, Nov. 7th, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—I send you enclosed a letter and sundry copies to Mr. Barclay, or, in his absence, to Mr. Ridley. I pray you to peruse, and then to seal and deliver them. You will hence become master of the subject, and be able to discourse with him on it, and to know his way of thinking on it more fully than what he will be disposed to communicate to me directly; for in his and my situation he will write with reserve; it is natural that he should. You know that my object is a settlement at almost any loss. One-half the balances due me is better, with a certificate to vindicate me from the vile charge of speculation, than to remain as I am at present. I have said so much on the subject in the enclosed that I can scarcely add without a repeti-

tion. In a word, you see that I wish to have every thing on which any question may arise put to reference and closed, or that Mr. Barclay will, at least, on examination, certify how he finds the account, whether he closes it or not. But can any thing be more vexatiously absurd than to refer every disputable article to Congress. I have been very ill since I saw you, but am now much recovered. I hope that this will find you the same, and that you have met with nothing but what has been agreeable. I am, with great esteem,
Dear Sir,

Your most Obedt. Servt.,

S. DEANE.

Col. J. Wadsworth, Paris.

Thomas Mss.

JESSE DEANE TO COL. SAMUEL B. WEBB.

Wethersfield, Nov. 13th, 1783.

DEAR BROTHER,—The weather not permitting me to go out, and being in want of some of my things, also, to send the rest on to Hartford, I shall be obliged to you to deliver them into the hands of the bearer. The weather and my present situation must excuse my not being more with you.

I remain, my Dear Brother, with sincere affection,

Yours,

JESSE DEANE.

Col. Samuel B. Webb.

Webb Papers, property of Mrs. Henry H. Oberly.

AN
ADDRESS
TO THE
UNITED STATES
OF
NORTH AMERICA.

To which is added,

A LETTER to the Hon. ROBERT MORRIS,
Esq., with Notes and Observations.

By SILAS DEANE, Esq.,

*Late one of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary from the UNITED
STATES, to the Court of VERSAILLES.*

LONDON:
Printed for J. DEBRET, opposite Burlington-House,
Piccadilly. 1784.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Address * was sent to America, within a few days after its date, with orders to have it published, but for reasons, which the circumstances, and temper of the times suggested, the publication was deferred, and I know not if it has as yet been made public in the United States ; but my silence, on this subject, has been construed so much to my disadvantage, that I cannot in justice to myself, any longer delay that vindication of my conduct, whilst in the service of my country, which has been so long expected from me.

* The manuscript copy of the Address was sent to America by Deane's son, with a request, dated Nov. 3, 1783, that his brother Barnabas should have it printed. It consisted of the Address dated Aug. 10, 1783, with a postscript and appendix dated Oct. 12, 1783. It was printed at Hartford by Hudson & Goodwin, in 1784, in an octavo pamphlet of 30 pages, entitled "An Address to the Free and Independent Citizens of the United States of North America. By Silas Deane, Esquire." The London edition of 1784, an octavo of ninety-five pages, is herewith reproduced. It contains Deane's later corrections. In this edition alterations were made in the Address dated Aug. 10th ; the appendix dated Oct. 12 was omitted, and a new appendix arranged, to which was added the letter to Robert Morris. It was reprinted at New London the same year, in a quarto of thirty-eight pages.

TO THE
Free and Independent Citizens
OF THE
UNITED STATES
OF
NORTH-AMERICA.

Friends, and Fellow Citizens,

The happy period being arrived, in which we may, in peace, take a review of the scenes through which we have passed, and with calmness and impartiality examine and judge of past transactions, I am encouraged to come forward, and to address you on a subject of infinite importance to myself, and of so much to you, as to excuse me from the making any previous apology on the occasion ;—perhaps I ought rather to make one for my having been so long silent, under the many heavy charges brought against me, in the public papers, in America.—Neither a want of sufficient means to refute them, or any indifference as to the opinion of my countrymen, occasioned my silence ; but the reflection, that during the rage and violence of war, and whilst party prejudices, heats and jealousies, were in their full force, it was by no means the time for a cool and dispassionate discussion of any subject on which, appearances had already prejudiced the minds of the public.

I therefore resolved to wait, and to improve the first moment of public peace and tranquility, to appear, and to plead my cause at your bar ; during near three years of misfortunes, and exile, I have impatiently looked for it ; I now flatter myself that it is arrived, and in that confidence, venture to call your attention to my case.

It is of some importance to you to know, if one, who formerly had your confidence to a great degree, actually betrayed and deserted you, and was guilty of the frauds, peculation, and treachery, with which he has been charged ; or if artful, and designing men, inimical to him, have taken the advantage of his weakness, or imprudence, to charge him, with those enormous crimes, to excite a general clamour against him, and from his silence, to infer, in the strongest manner, his guilt. Though I may solicit your examination of the subject at this time, under very great disadvantages, yet I am by no means thereby deterred, from doing it. As yet you have heard but one side of the question, and that at a time when your situation made you justly apprehensive, and jealous of danger from every quarter, and rendered you, as it were, feelingly alive in every pore. At present when we are happily freed from the alarms, and dangers of war, you will not refuse to hear the other part, and thereby become capable of judging on the whole with certainty, and with justice, to the accuser, as well as to the accused, which is all I ask, or wish for. Unwilling to take up more of your time, than what is absolutely necessary, I shall not, in this address, recapitulate the many surmises, and insinuations thrown out by my enemies, in the course of their persecuting of me, but confine myself to their direct charges, all of which, are comprehended under two heads : First, That I was guilty of fraud, and peculation, in the management of the public monies committed to my care ; and Secondly, That after my return to France, in 1781, I wrote those letters, which were intercepted, and published in New-York, from interested motives, and with a base and treacherous design to injure my country, having previously engaged myself, in the interest of her enemies. If on an impartial examination of facts, you shall judge me guilty of these crimes, nothing that has hitherto been said, or done against me, will be deemed unjust, or too severe ; but if, on the other hand, you shall, from the most unquestionable facts and circumstances, find

those charges to be false and groundless, whatever weakness or imprudence you may find me justly chargeable with, you will, at least, acquit me of any thing criminal, and pronounce me to be, *a man more sinned against than sinning*. My conduct in the early part of the late contest, and until my leaving America in April, 1776, to go for France in the character of commercial and political agent, and commissioner for the United States, is too well known, to require my referring to any part of it. The charges against me, originate, after that period; previous to it, I had no charge of public monies.

I arrived in France in June, 1776, and acted as sole commercial and political agent, for the United States until the month of December following, when I received a commission from Congress, appointing Doctor Franklin, Mr. Lee, and myself, their joint commissioners plenipotentiary. And I continued to act in this last character, until the first of April, 1778, when in obedience to the orders of Congress, I left Paris on my return to America, and from that period to the present hour, have not been entrusted with the monies of the public, or with any public employ. It therefore follows, that if frauds, peculation, and embezzlement, were practised and committed by me, they must have been, in and during that period, that is between April, 1776, and April, 1778.;—and that I must have committed them, in my transactions at Paris, where I constantly resided. The time and place being ascertained, the justice or injustice of this charge, will at once be seen, by an examination of my receipts, and disbursements of public monies. On the 4th of March, 1778, I received a positive order from Congress, to return immediately to America, to acquaint them *with the state of their affairs in Europe*; in the resolution of Congress transmitted, and in the letter accompanying of it, this appeared to be the only motive, and object of my recall.

Though the treaties with France, had been concluded and signed on the 6th of February preceding, yet they

had still been kept secret, and, by agreement with the Court of France, were not to be made public in Europe, until intelligence should be received of their being arrived, and published in America ; but several circumstances concurred at that time, to induce the Court of France to change their plan, and publicly to announce to the Court of London, their having entered into treaties of commerce and alliance with the United States, and to dispatch with all possible secrecy and expedition, the fleet then at Toulon to America, under the command of the Count d'Estaing ; and the Count de Vergennes and Doctor Franklin, joined in advising me, to keep my recall, and my intention to return, secret, until the fleet should sail, in which it was proposed that I should embark.

At this time, most of the contracts for stores, arms, cloathing, &c. and for ships to transport them to America, were compleated ; the execution of those contracts had been principally under my direction, but though monies had been advanced on all of them, the accounts of the contractors, had not been brought in for settlement, and it was impossible for me, (if I literally complied with the order of Congress, and with the urgent request of the French Minister, and of Dr. Franklin, to go out in the fleet ;) to do any thing previously, towards the calling in and settling the public, or even my private accounts ; any attempt that way, would have defeated the secrecy, and dispatch enjoined me. Though nothing appeared in the order of Congress, or in any of their letters, which intimated the least dissatisfaction with my conduct, or any suspicion of the faithful management, and application of the public monies, yet as I had, from the first, the misfortune, to have in Mr. Lee, one of my colleagues, a most jealous, and artful enemy, and sensible that many ill offices, had been done me in America, I was extremely desirous to put off my return, until all the transactions, in which I had had any concern, for the public, should be settled and closed : but finally, I submitted, to the advice on

Count de Vergennes, and of Doctor Franklin, and contented myself, with taking from Mr. Grand, the Banker for Congress, an accompt of all the monies received, or paid out, on accompt of the United States, up to that time, this was all that was in my power to do ; and as Mr. Grand, had mentioned in this accompt, the names of all the persons to whom he had paid the money, and as I carried out with me, the most honourable testimonials,* from his most Christian Majesty, from his Minister, and from my colleague and intimate friend, Doctor Franklin, of my zeal and integrity in the service of my country, I had no reason to apprehend the being censured for not having settled, and brought out with me all the public accompts, and their vouchers, in detail ; but on my arrival in Philadelphia, I soon found that my enemies, had been to a certain degree successful, in poisoning the minds of the public, by insinuating that I had become immensely rich, in their service, and consequently, that I must have been guilty of undue, and dishonest practices ; and though I had been sent for, expressly to inform Congress, of the state of their affairs in Europe, and notwithstanding the honorable characters I had sustained, as their political and commercial Agent, and afterwards as one of their Commissioners Plenipotentiaries, I could not obtain an audience of that body, until after six weeks attendance and solicitation.

I then gave them, verbally, a faithful detail of the state of their affairs in Europe, and laid before them Mr. Grand's accompt, of the receipts and payments of monies, to the time of my leaving Paris ; and requested, that if there had been any charge, or insinuation against me, for mismanagement or neglect, that I might be informed of it, and be permitted to be heard in my defence. I was not told of any ; and though Congress appeared no ways dissatisfied with the account I then gave them of the state of their affairs in Europe, and of my own Conduct in their service ; and though the settlement of the public, as well as of my private accompts

* See Appendix, No. 1, 2, 3.

pressed me to return as early as possible to France, yet I could not obtain any resolution of Congress, either to approve, or disapprove, of any part of my conduct ; and though I almost daily solicited for a second audience, I did not obtain one, until late in December following ; I then gave them a written narrative of my transactions, from my leaving America, in their service, until my recall and return.

Congress then appeared disposed, to take the matter up, and to examine it, and to come to some determination on the subject ; a committee was appointed to examine the state of their foreign affairs, and into the conduct of their commissioners and agents, and for greater dispatch, the committee were ordered to meet every evening, Saturday and Sunday evenings excepted ; yet that committee never condescended, to admit me to an audience, or to ask me a single question on the subject of their enquiry ; and though I had been sent for expressly to inform the Congress of the state of their affairs in Europe, yet their committee studiously evaded, the giving me an opportunity of laying before them, any information on the subject, or of explaining any part of my own conduct whilst in their service. During more than fourteen months attendance in Philadelphia, I obtained but two audiences from Congress, and none from their committee, whose proceedings and report (if indeed they made any) were kept secret from me.—In December, 1778, having waited five months in Philadelphia, almost daily soliciting Congress to examine my transactions whilst in their service, I found that a party, determined on my ruin, had sufficient interest to prevent all examination, and to bear me down, by the most mortifying delay, and neglect ; I therefore resolved to lay my case before my countrymen, and fellow-citizens, but on my first address, Congress resolved to give me an audience, and afterwards appointed a committee, as I have before mentioned.—As I then flattered myself, that Congress had resolved to examine into the state of their foreign affairs, and of

those transactions in which I had been a principal actor, and to come to some determination on the subject, I could not consider myself at liberty to proceed, in publishing the state of my case; in the mean time I was attacked, and abused, in the most base and outrageous manner, in the public papers. I made no reply to the many calumnies and falsehoods published by a noted scribbler, and by his associates and patrons, but earnestly requested of Congress, and their committee, to grant me a hearing, and to do me justice; but my solicitations were ineffectual; though from December 1778, to August 1779, I wrote more than thirty letters to Congress, humbly petitioning for a public examination, and trial, yet they never condescended to take the least notice, of my requests. In private conversation with the members, I was told, that the only difficulty lay in my accounts not being settled. To obviate this I returned to France, on assurances from Congress, that they had appointed, and empowered a gentleman in France, to audit and settle all their public accounts; but on my arrival in France, in July, 1780, and application to him, I found that his power was so limited, that he declined acting under it. I wrote immediately to Congress, soliciting for more ample powers to him, or to some other person, and set myself to put not only my accounts, but those of my colleagues, and of every one, with whom I had transacted any business on account of the public, in a state for being audited, and settled; and I passed more than twelve months at Paris, at a heavy expence, flattering myself, that as Congress had made no objection whatever, to any part of my conduct in their service, except my not having settled my accounts, and as my enemies, both in Congress and out of it, professed to believe that I was a defaulter, they would not, after the prodigious expence of time, and money, which I had been put to, delay the appointment of an auditor to examine my accounts, and to ascertain the only point in question with regard to me; but I heard nothing on the subject, until November,

1781, when I received a resolve of Congress, informing me, that by the appointment of a consul, provision was made for the settlement of my accounts ; but in a few days after, I met with Mr. Barclay, the consul, who, to my extreme surprize, and disappointment, assured me, that he had no instructions on the subject ; and a few days after this, I had the mortification of learning, that my letters of May, and June preceding, had been intercepted, and published at New York, and that the most unfavourable construction had been put upon them, both in America and in France. This placed me in such a situation, as I believe, but few men have ever been so unfortunate as to experience. Proscribed in my own country and in France, and obnoxious to this government, I submitted to a tedious exile in Flanders, where I remained, until the treaty of peace was concluded ; but, in the mean time, I transmitted my accounts to Congress, and solicited a settlement and the payment of the balance due to me : I also sent duplicates of them to Dr. Franklin. It is now more than eighteen months, since Congress have been in possession of my accounts ; it is more than five years, since I had either the money, or any employment for the public, entrusted to my management.

Is it possible, that any fraud or embezzlement committed by me should remain undetected ? had I been guilty of any, would not my enemies, with all the particulars of my accounts in their power, have pointed them out and published them, instead of charging me generally with being a defaulter for unaccounted millions ?

In March, 1778, Doctor Franklin assured Congress, that he had been an eye witness of my conduct in France, whilst his colleague, and that I had acted the part, of *an able, active, and faithful minister, and to his knowledge had, in various ways, rendered great and important service to my country.** In Dec. 1782, almost five years after, when, from our difference in

* Appendix, No. 4.

political principles, he was no way prejudiced in my favour, and when, had I been guilty of fraud, or embezzlement, it was impossible but that it must have come to his knowledge, he certified, that he had *never known, or suspected any cause to charge me with any want of probity, in any purchase, or bargain whatever, made by me, for the use or account of the United States.* To charge me with being a defaulter, and with having defrauded my country of large sums of money, and at the same time to evade an examination and settlement of my accounts, by which only the justice or injustice of the charge could be ascertained, is a conduct which needs no comment, nor do I fear to rest my cause on it, and on the testimony, and certificate of Doctor Franklin; but clear and convincing as these proofs are of my innocence, I have a sufficiency of others, independent of the testimonies, or certificates of any man, or of the conduct of any set of men, whether friendly, or inimical to me.

In January, 1776, I contracted with the commercial committee of Congress to make a voyage to France, and to purchase for the public, goods the amount of forty thousand pounds sterling: They engaged to furnish me with that sum in cash or good bills, and to allow me a five *per cent.* commission on the purchase. At the same time, the secret committee appointed me the commercial and political agent for the United-States in Europe,* and directed me to purchase for them one hundred pieces of brass cannon, and arms, and cloathing for twenty-five thousand men, and ammunition in proportion, and to procure ships, in Europe, to transport the whole to America; on these purchases, they also stipulated to give me five *per cent.* commission, and to make me a reasonable and adequate allowance for any political services I might render my country in France. When we reflect on the situation of our affairs at that period, it must be acknowledged that no man was ever charged with a more important commission, and when

* Appendix, No. 5.

the circumstance of my being ignorant of the language, as well as of the manners and politics of the country, in which I was to execute it ; without friend or patron to advise, to countenance, or to introduce me, and without that best of all patrons, and supporters, a fund adequate to the purpose ; when these are taken into consideration, it must also be allowed, that no commission of this nature was ever attended with more difficulties, and embarrassments. I left Philadelphia in the month of March, 1776, in a brig bound to Bourdeau ; and such was the situation of our affairs at that time, that she sailed with ballast only, on account of the want of any thing to make remittances with in a cargo. An accident at sea obliged her to return, and I reimarked in a sloop bound to Bermuda. The funds put into my hands, to enable me to execute my commission, and to make the above-mentioned purchases, to the value of nearly 300,000*l.* sterling, amounted to little more, than three thousand, in bills of exchange, about one third of which were protested, and returned ; and of near five thousand pounds afterwards remitted to me in bills, one small bill, of two hundred and thirty pounds only, was accepted, and paid ; and from my leaving Philadelphia, in 1776, until my return in 1778, no remittances were made of any importance to enable me to execute this important commission, which I undertook to execute, more from a certainty, that foreign aid was become absolutely necessary, and that it must be obtained, or our country must soon be obliged to give over the contest, and to submit unconditionally to the British Parliament, than from any pecuniary or personal motives. On my arrival in France in June, 1776, I applied (agreeable to my instructions from the secret committee to the Minister, to obtain those supplies, on which the fate of the next year's campaign, and the issue of the war depended, but received neither countenance, or encouragement from him, any farther than a general promise of personal protection, and that, provided my operations, in procuring the cannon, military stores, &c. from indi-

viduals, and shipping them to America, should be carried on with so much caution and secrecy, as to give no alarm to the British Ministers, the court of France would wink at the proceeding, but otherways they could not, as the treaties with Great-Britain, and the King's ordinances, would not permit us to purchase and import military stores from France. My situation was extremely critical and arduous ; I had in the first place to solicit a credit, from individuals, and to induce them to give it, I could not advance any part of the large capital wanted. I had not money even to defray the contingent expences, of the transportation of the stores, to the ports, at which they must be embarked, and I could give no other security for the articles wanted than my letter of instructions from the secret committee, authorising me make those purchases, and their general promise, in behalf of Congress, that the same should be paid for ; but after I had obtained a credit, a still greater obstacle presented itself, for it was impossible to purchase a large train of artillery, and arms, cloathing, tents, and military stores for an army of twenty-five thousand men, and to transport the whole to the seaports, and embark them for America in such a secret, and private manner, as to elude the vigilance of the British Minister at the Court of Versailles, who, from my first arrival in Paris, could have been at no loss to conclude what the main object of my errand was.—In the month of July, I obtained a credit for the whole of the stores wanted, and for the charter of ships to transport them to America ; and apprehensive that some part of them might be intercepted on their passage, I ventured to exceed the orders given me, and instead of one hundred, I purchased upwards of two hundred pieces of brass cannon, and mortars, and arms, cloathing, and stores, for thirty thousand men, though my instructions were but for twenty-five thousand.—Besides these purchases, for which I obtained a credit for twelve months, and a promise of a longer term on interest, I purchased other stores, such as powder, saltpetre, &c. to the

amount of about fifteen thousand pounds, on three months credit : and relying on remittances, being on the way to me, I gave my notes, and bills for the money.—The cannon, arms, &c. were purchased in different parts of France, a great part of the cannon were to be transported upwards of two hundred miles, part of the way by land, to the sea ports ; this could not be done secretly, and the transportation of such a quantity of cannon and military stores, at a time when France was in profound peace, necessarily excited inquiries, and no one could remain at a loss, as to their destination ;—the consequence was, that the British minister remonstrated, and orders were issued to suspend our operations ; in a few days, permission was privately obtained to proceed ; fresh alarms were given, and repeated counter orders issued ; whenever news unfavourable to us arrived from America, or the British Minister remonstrated in a high tone, all my operations were instantly suspended ; a few anecdotes, and extracts of letters favourable to us, (whether authentic or not) with proper management, and a judicious application of *douceurs*, set the affair again in motion ; and these permissions, and counter orders, succeeded each other every few weeks, and frequently oftener, until the stores were embarked ; nor did the court quit this fluctuating mode of conduct, or give the least encouragement, of finally acting decisively in our favour, until the news of the surrender of General Burgoyne's army, arrived in France ;—in a word, our success or misfortunes, and the remonstrances of the British Minister, gave the tone, and stile of the French Ministers, from my arrival in France, to the receipt of the above-mentioned intelligence, and even until the signing of the treaties of the 6th of February, 1778.—It would require a volume, to give but a general history of these manœuvres, and of the embarrassments, and expences which attended them ; unfortunately for me, as well for the creditor of those supplies, a great part of the expences were of such a nature, that no vouchers can ever be produced for them.—When it was known,

that orders were going to be issued, to suspend the transportation, or the embarkation of the cannon and stores, or to forbid the ships loaded or loading with them, from failing, the doceurs given to delay such orders, or the execution of them, for a few days, or for a few hours only, as was sometimes the case ;—the extra sums given to waggoners, to boatmen and others to exert themselves on such occasions, can never be supported by vouchers. What I have already said, is sufficient to give a general idea of my situation at that time, and of the obstacles and embarrassments which I had to encounter with ;—and it is well known, that I so far surmounted them, as to have upwards of two hundred pieces of brass cannon and mortars, with thirty thousand fusils, with ammunition, cloathing and tents for an army of thirty thousand men at the ports, and ready to be embarked, and ships to receive them, in the month of November, within the short space of six months after my arrival in France.—It ought to be equally well known, that after the most positive orders were give by the Court, forbidding the embarkation of them, and the sailing of the ships, means were devised, and practised, so far to elude them, that two ships, the *Amphitrite* and *Mercure*, with near one hundred of the cannon, twenty thousand fusils, and other stores, under pretence of sailing for St. Domingo, were got to sea, and fortunately arrived at Portsmouth, in New-Hampshire, in April, 1777 ; and that when General Burgoyne capitulated at Saratoga, his army was surrounded by men armed with those fusils, and supported by that train of artillery, purchased and sent out, as I have already mentioned ; and as that event alone, brought France to conclude a treaty with us, and enter into a war with England, the purchase, and sending out those cannon, arms, and stores, in a great degree decided the fate, or the independence of the United States.—To shew that I do not over-rate the importance of these supplies, or my service in procuring of them, I must refer to Mons. Beaumarchais' letter of 23d

of March, 1778, to Congress, and to the letter from the President of Congress to him, of the 15th of January, 1779, Mons. Beaumarchais says, "*I assure you, that if my zeal, my advances of money, my cargoes of stores and merchandise have been of service to the Honorable Congress, their gratitude on this occasion, is due to the indefatigable pains which Mr. Deane has taken through the whole of this transaction.*"

Congress, on the 15th of January, 1779, say, "*The Congress of the United States of America, sensible of your exertion in their favour, present you with their thanks, and assure you of their regard;—they lament the inconveniences you have suffered, by the great advances made in support of these States; circumstances have prevented a compliance with their wishes, but they will take the most effectual measures, in their power to discharge the debt due to you;—the liberal sentiments, and extensive views which alone could dictate a conduct like yours, are conspicuous in your actions, and adorn your character; while with great talents you served your Prince, you have gained the esteem of this infant republic, and will receive the merited applause of a new world.*" I need not remind you of the treatment, which I met with, and that Congress, whilst they voted the thanks of the United States to Mons. Beaumarchais, and declared that his services, *merited the applause of a new world*, refused me an audience, or to take any notice of my petitions to them, for an examination of my conduct, whilst in the service of my country; although they at the same time knew, that but for me, the meritorious services, of that gentleman, would never have been performed.—Dr. Franklin arrived at Paris in December, 1776, but he brought no funds of any importance with him, from the Congress, and I found by his account of the state of affairs in America, that I could not depend on any remittances from thence. My situation was extremely distressing, the small sum which I brought out with me was expended, and my notes and bills above-mentioned

were within a few weeks of becoming due ; in this crisis the Court of France secretly interposed, and ordered Mr. Grand to pay us 500,000 livres quarterly, during the year ensuing ; and the Farmers General advanced one million of livres on a contract for tobacco. (The two millions from the Court was then said to be a free gift, and I know not, but have heard, that it has lately been charged in the accompt of France, against the United States). By these sums I was enabled, to make good my personal engagements, and the commissioners put in a state to make further purchases of stores for our army, by advancing part of the purchase money. In the mean time, Congress, instead of making remittances, began to draw on their Commissioners for large sums, and in October, we found our funds so far exhausted, that our engagements exceeded what we could command, or depend on, by near two millions of livres. The Court was then at Fountainbleau, and, from the unfavorable accounts from America, appeared less disposed to assist us, than at any preceding period ; but on my going to Fountainbleau, and informing the Minister of our situation, and that without an immediate advance of money, we could not execute the contracts we had entered into, for cloathing, &c., and must give over any further attempts to furnish our countrymen, with stores for prosecuting the war, I obtained a promise from him, that Mr. Grand should pay us, three million of livres in the course of the year then ensuing, in quarterly payments ; this enabled us to make good our engagements. At the time of my leaving France to return to America, the first quarter, or 750,000 livres had become due, and Mr. Grand had given the United States credit for that sum, which with the sums before-mentioned, amounted to 3,750,000 livres, which was the total of the monies received by Mr. Grand on our account to that time, and his accounts which I gave to Congress in August, 1778, shew to whom, and on what account he paid it out ; and that he paid me 69,225 livres 7s. 6d. for my private expences ; I have charged Congress with

the sum of 100,947 livres $\frac{1}{4}$ for the whole amount of them, from my engaging in the public service in January, 1776, to my return to France, in July, 1780, to settle the public accounts.—Mr. Arthur Lee, in his letter to Congress, dated June 1, 1778, says, “*I find that the expence of living in character, cannot be less than three thousand pounds sterling per annum, and adds, if left to themselves, I conceive that most persons will exceed that sum;*” that is 68571 livres. I was (as Mr. Lee expresses it) left to myself, but I did not exceed that sum. From June, 1776, to April, 1778, almost two years, I advanced nearly the whole of the monies paid out for the relief of prisoners; the sum of 6406 livres 5s. 6d. only was paid by the banker; my charges for this department amount to 19,225 livres 7s. 10d. but in eleven months from my recall, Congress are charged by the Commissioners, with the sum of 33,782 livres 19s. advanced to prisoners; from such facts, a judgment may be formed of my œconomy, or dissipation whilst in the service of my country. The amount of my charges to Congress, exclusive of my commission account, is 258,194 livres 9s. 2d. of which my expences already mentioned, amount to 100,947 livres $\frac{1}{4}$, the remainder was for my time, and disbursements of various kinds, specified in my account, long since before Congress, on this account the ballance is 175,107 livres $\frac{1}{2}$ in my favour.—Mr. William Lee made one journey to Vienna, on account of the public, and Mr. Izard who was at Paris for the education of his children, received whilst there a commission from Congress to the Court of Tuscany, but never went out of Paris or quitted his family on the business of the public; the former of these gentlemen received 72,000 livres, and the latter 60,000 for their private expences; yet these men are among the loudest against me for an extravagant waste of public money.—And permit me here, my countrymen and fellow-citizens, to request, that you will examine for yourselves, or that if your distance from Congress, will not permit you to do it, that you will demand of your

delegates an account of all the monies ever remitted to me by Congress, or that I ever received on their account; by this you will be able to form a judgment, with sufficient precision, if I am a defaulter for millions, as has been asserted by my enemies, or one of the public creditors.

But exclusive of the above ballance due to me, after accounting for all the monies, received by me, I am entitled to a commission of five per cent. on goods and military stores purchased by me, to the amount of 4,756,393 livres, 17 sols, which makes the sum of 238,445 livres, expences of postage, &c., included. These goods and military stores I purchased, previous to the arrival of my colleagues, in consequence of the order given me by the secret committee of Congress, and on which I was promised the same commission, as was then given to other agents and purchasers, which was uniformly five per cent.—For the purchases made jointly with my colleagues, I have not charged any thing, being then in a different capacity, as joint commissioner plenipotentiary, with them. Thus it appears, that instead of being a defaulter, I am one of the public creditors, and to a large amount; and of all the public creditors, perhaps no one has suffered so much in point of interest, certainly no one so much in point of character; but of this I may take notice, on some future occasion. I need not take up any more of your time at present on the subject of my accounts, they have long since been before Congress, and to them I appeal, to justify the general state, which I have given of my money transactions for the public. I have shewn, and it will appear from them, that from my arrival in France in June, 1776, to the December following, when joined by Doctor Franklin and Mr. Lee, I had had no money, or next to none of the public's, at any time in my hands; but on the contrary, was at that time, in advance for my employers; and that afterwards, until my return to America, I did not receive a sum, any way equal to my expences and disbursements; and from that period to

the present, I have not had any public employment. The second charge against me is, on account of my having in May and June, 1781, wrote my opinion of our public affairs to my friends in America, and advised peace, and an accommodation with Great-Britain.

I confess that the letters published by Rivington in New-York, as mine, do not materially differ from those which I actually wrote at that time, and which, unfortunately for me, were intercepted; and that they contain the undisguised sentiments of my heart, on the then apparent situation of our affairs; but I never yet heard of its being, a crime in any free state, for the citizens of it to give their opinion, and advice on public affairs, and measures. To suppose me to have been in the interest of the ministers of this country, and to have wrote those letters to promote their views, is as absurd as to suppose, that I amassed an immense fortune in the service of my country; yet, although my well known circumstances, and connections, at that period, and previous to it, as well as since, demonstrate the absurdity, and falsehood of such suppositions, yet both the one, and the other have been not only *suggested*, but positively asserted, by certain writers in America, who stick at nothing, however extravagant.

I can hardly imagine, notwithstanding the late, and present prosperous state of our affairs, that any one can have forgot the situation, in which they were in 1781, when I wrote those letters, and previous to the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, and of his army at York. In May, and in June, 1781, the British forces were in possession, of the whole of our sea coast, from the Chesapeak southward; and whilst they ravaged, and distressed the interior country, their ships of war and cruizers intercepted almost the whole of our trade, and of our supplies. We had no naval force, to oppose to theirs, nor any probability at that time, that our ally would send to our assistance, a naval force superior to that of the enemy. The army under General Washington, was too weak of itself, for any offensive operations; and

Congress had neither money or credit, to put it on a more respectable footing. General Washington did not scruple at that period to declare, "that without a "decidedly superior fleet to that of Great-Britain in "America, all opposition to the British forces in America, "would soon be at an end." All the letters from America were in the same stile; many circumstances at that time, my own observations, and the information I was then in the way of, led me to conclude, that there was not the least probability, of there being a French fleet on our coast that campaign, superior to the British. Accidents, and circumstances, unforeseen at that time, and those extremely improbable ones, gave the French fleet that superiority, which alone decided the fate of Lord Cornwallis, and of his army at York. Had not this event happened, of which, when I wrote, there was not the most distant probability, the war must have terminated against us in that campaign;—In this I was supported by the unanimous opinion of the best judges on the subject, then in America: was it a crime in me, to write to America in the same stile, in which our Generals, and leading men, wrote to their friends in Europe? My letters have been published, theirs have not; this is the sole difference, except the cruel circumstance of mine having been published by the enemy, at a time when our danger was over, and when the publication could serve no other purpose, but to ruin me in the opinion of my countrymen.

At the time of my writing, every thing conspired to convince me, that France had only her own interest, and that of Spain in view, in the war; and that however it might terminate, she would be very far from consulting our interest in the peace; persuaded of this, I wrote it to be my opinion, and for this I have been deemed an enemy and traitor to France, as well as to the United States.

But have not events, in part already justified this opinion of mine? You best know by what intrigues the French Court prevailed with Congress, to order our com-

missioners, not to sign any treaty with Great-Britain, without the knowledge and consent of the Court of Versailles; and thus to put our future *peace, liberty and safety*, absolutely into their power: nor can you, I presume, be ignorant, that the Court of France, having thus bound us, began to take off the mask, and to take measures with, and to propose terms to, the other powers for excluding us from the fisheries, and for supporting the extravagant claims of Spain to East Louisiana; and that our commissioners alarmed at this, wisely ventured to sign the preliminary articles, without either the knowledge or consent of the Ministers at Versailles. Are not these well known facts abundantly sufficient to justify me for having in 1781, entertained suspicions of France, in her professions of disinterested friendship to the United States? By our treaty with Great-Britain, we are entitled to a right in her share of the Newfoundland and Nova-Scotia fisheries; but has not France wholly excluded us from any in hers? Does not France at this time encourage and support Spain, in her claims to the richest and most extensive part of the territory allowed by Great-Britain, in the late treaty, to belong to us? These attempts are not marks of friendship, but are the most unequivocal characteristics of that insidious, interested policy, which I pointed out in my letters, and warned my friends to be on their guard against.

In my letter to Mr. Morris, I gave him my opinion, with respect to the future state of our commerce, under independent sovereignty, and the grounds on which I was led to form it; and I shall be happy, if experience, (which alone can decide in such cases) proves that my opinion and reasoning on that subject, were erroneous and ill-founded. Apprehensive at the time, and distressed by the thought, that we must either fail in the contest, and in such case submit to the laws of our conquerors, rendered imperious and severe from their success; or, that if successful ourselves, that in the situation in which our country must be on the peace,

burthened with heavy taxes on account of the public debts contracted by the war, and still heavier for the future support of independent sovereignty, and at the same time exposed to the evils arising from internal factions and divisions, and from our jarring and incompatible interests; that our democratic governments, which we had established in Congress, and in our several States, would not be found to have sufficient energy and coercion to establish and maintain such a degree of order, and of due subordination, as must ever be indispensibly necessary in all governments, to prevent anarchy and confusion; And that in such a situation, independent sovereignty, instead of proving a blessing, must become the heaviest misfortune, which could befall us;—Strongly impressed by this opinion, I judged it to be my duty, to urge and press my countrymen, by every argument in my power, to improve that important crisis, and by an accommodation, and re-union with Great-Britain, on equal, safe, and honourable terms, to secure our future peace, safety and liberty, both internal, and external.

I then thought that a re-union, not simply on the condition of being replaced in the State, in which we were, previous to 1763; (for which alone, Congress in 1774, and afterwards in 1775, petitioned,) but on conditions and terms, every way preferable; viz: Those of being governed, solely by laws of our own enacting, and of being taxed only by our assemblies, and of enjoying the same commercial privileges, and protections, as other subjects of the British Empire were, or might be entitled to; I say that it was then my opinion, that an accommodation and re-union on those terms, was to be preferred to a continuation of the war, to running the risque of its uncertain issue, and to hazarding the dangerous experiment of Independent Sovereignty.—This opinion of mine, has been deemed a crime little short of that of high treason.—But it ought to be remembered, that this was simply my opinion, and that I communicated it to my friends, at

a time, when our prospects were gloomy and discouraging.

It is proper here, to review the sentiments of the first, and of the second Congress on this subject; the first in their resolutions, and in their petition to the King, complain of no grievances anterior to 1763; their words are: "We present this petition, only to obtain redress of grievances, and relief from fears, and jealousies, occasioned by the system of statutes, and regulations, adopted since the close of the late war, for raising a revenue in America;—extending the powers of the Courts of Admiralty, and Vice Admiralty;—trying persons in Great-Britain, for offences alleged to be committed in America;—affecting the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay; and altering the government, and extending the limits of Quebec." This is the list of grievances, then enumerated, and they add, "By the abolition of which system, the harmony between Great-Britain, and these Colonies, so necessary to the happiness of both, and so ardently desired by the latter, and the usual intercourses will be immediately restored;—for, appealing to that Being who searches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, we solemnly profess, that our councils have been influenced by no other motive, than a dread of impending destruction." (That is from the above system). "Permit us then, most gracious Sovereign, in the name of all your faithful people in America, with the utmost humility to implore you, for the honor of Almighty God, *whose pure religion our enemies are undermining*, for your glory, which can be advanced only by rendering your subjects happy, for the interest of your family; depending on an adherence to the principles that enthroned it; for the safety and welfare of your kingdoms, and dominions, threatened with almost unavoidable dangers, and distresses, that your Majesty, as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bonds, *of law, loyalty, faith and blood*, though dwelling in different countries, will not suffer the

“transcendant relation formed by these ties to be farther violated, in uncertain expectation of effects that, if attained, never can compensate for the calamities through which they must be gained, we therefore, &c.”—These were the sentiments of the first Congress;—the second, though convened after hostilities had been commenced, and although their petition was agreed to, after they had made an arrangement of the army, had commissioned the generals, had issued money and become to all intents, *de facto*, Independent; yet they still persevered in the same sentiments, as to their grievances, and the terms on which a reconciliation was desired; they refer to the petition of the first Congress, and solemnly “declare, before God and the world, that they had not raised armies with the ambitious designs, of separating from Great-Britain, and establishing Independent States, and that they fought, not for glory or conquest;” and add, “attached to your Majesty’s Person, Family, and Government, with all that devotion which principle, or affection can inspire, connected with Great-Britain, by the strongest ties which can unite societies, our breasts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom from which we derive our origin, to request such a reconciliation as might in any manner be inconsistent, with her dignity and welfare; these, related as we are to her, honor and duty, as well as inclination, induce us to support and advance.” Within a few days after signing this petition, Doctor Franklin drew up several resolutions in form of proposals, to be made by Congress for a reconciliation, which he introduced in the following words; “Forasmuch as the enemies of America, in the Parliament of Great-Britain, to render us odious to the nation, and give an ill impression of us in the minds of other European Powers, have represented us unjust and ungrateful in the highest degree; asserting on every occasion, that the Colonies were settled at the expence of Britain, &c. *That they aim at independency, that they intend an abolition of the Navigation Acts, &c.*

“and as by frequent repetition of these groundless
 “assertions, and malicious calumnies, may, if not
 “contradicted and refuted, obtain farther credit, and
 “be injurious throughout Europe to the reputation, and
 “interest of the confederated Colonies, it seems proper,
 “and necessary to examine them in our own just vindication.” He then proceeds to shew, that these charges were groundless, and then to make the following proposals: “That on a Reconciliation with Britain,
 “we shall not only continue to grant aid in time of
 “war, but whenever she shall think fit to abolish her
 “monopoly, and give us the same privileges in trade,
 “as Scotland received at the Union, and allow us a
 “free commerce with all the rest of the world, we shall
 “willingly agree to give and pay into the sinking fund,
 “100,000 l. sterling annually, for the space of one
 “hundred years to come, which duty, faithfully and
 “inviolably applied, to that purpose, is demonstrably
 “more than sufficient to extinguish all her present
 “national debt, &c. But if Britain does not think fit to
 “accept this proposition, we, in order to remove her
 “groundless jealousies, *that we aim at independence,*
 “*and an abolition of the Navigation Act, which, in*
 “*truth, has never been our intention,* and to avoid all
 “future disputes about the right of making that, and
 “other acts, for the regulating our commerce, do hereby
 “declare ourselves ready, and willing to enter into a
 “covenant with Great-Britain, that she shall fully
 “possess, enjoy, and exercise that right for one hundred years to come.” (See the Doctor’s political, miscellaneous and philosophical pieces, fol. 357). His editor says, “*This paper was drawn up in a committee*
 “*of Congress, June 25, 1775, but does not appear on*
 “*their minutes; a severe act of parliament which*
 “*arrived about the same time, having determined them*
 “*not to give the sum proposed in it.*” But the editor was misinformed; the paper here referred to, was not drawn up in a committee, nor by the direction of Congress, or by the advice of a committee.—Doctor

Franklin first committed his thoughts, on the terms for a reconciliation, to writing, and afterwards, in a committee, which was appointed for a very different purpose, whilst their report was transcribing, he read the draught abovementioned : Col. R. H. Lee, who was one of the committee, approved of it, and requested the Doctor to lay it before Congress, or to permit him to do it, not as a report, for no committee had been appointed on the subject, but in the usual way of motion, by an individual member ; Doctor Franklin declined the taking of this, on himself, and gave the paper to Col. Lee, who the next day introduced, and read it in Congress, and moved that the two proposals contained in it, should pass into resolutions of the house ; the motion was seconded, and supported by a delegate from one of the New-England states, since unjustly charged, with having aimed at independence from the first of the dispute : the proposals appeared no way disagreeable to the house, but it was observed, that having but a few days before, in a petition to his Majesty, requested him *to direct the mode and forms "for a happy, and permanent reconciliation,"* it was proper to wait the effects of that petition, and that, in the mean time, to make any specific proposals, would be premature, and to a certain degree inconsistent with our own requests ; besides this objection, a great part of the members, especially of those from the Southern states, were still confident that the prayer of our petition would be granted, and a reconciliation take place on the terms, of our being restored to the state in which we were, at and previous to 1763. On these considerations the motion was withdrawn ; and the reason why no entry was made of it, in the minutes or journals of Congress, was, least after being restored unconditionally to the state in which we were in 1763, future advantage might be taken of these offers. As I was one of the committee, to whom the contents of this paper was first communicated, and in Congress during the transaction, I cannot in justice to the wishes, and disposition of Congress, at that time for

a reconciliation, omit giving this brief history of those proposals ; and in justice to myself, I must observe, that the terms proposed by me in my letters, are infinitely preferable, to those offered, and prayed for by the first, and second Congress, as well as to those contained in this paper drawn up by Doctor Franklin. After the declaration of independence, Doctor Franklin, with the knowledge and approbation of Congress, corresponded with Lord Howe ; in his letter of the 30th of July, 1776. to his Lordship, he says, " Long did I endeavour with " unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preserve from " breaking that fine, and noble china vase, the British " empire ; for I knew, that being once broken, the " separate parts could not retain, even *their share of* " the strength, and value, which existed in the whole, " and that *a perfect re-union of those parts could scarce " ever be hoped for.*" Was it a crime in me, in 1781, to wish for a perfect re-union, and in private letters, to urge my friends to do all in their power to promote, and bring about an *event* (which, by the Doctor's letter, appears to have been, even in 1776) *most devoutly to be wished for ?*

But we now enjoy independent sovereignty and peace, on the most favourable and honourable terms, and have obtained every thing which we either hoped for, or demanded ; and happy, indeed, should I be, were I certain, that none of the evils, which I apprehended in 1781, were either felt, or feared by my countrymen at this time ; in such case I should be contented to be ridiculed, or even pitied for my weak, and gloomy forebodings. But General Washington, in his circular letter, says, " That it is a question, yet to be decided, whether the " revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing, or a curse. A blessing or a curse, not to the " present age alone, for with our fate will the destiny " of unborn millions be involved." I ask, that these expressions of the General, after the great object of our independent sovereignty, has been obtained, and ratified by treaties, may be compared with the expressions in

my letters of 1781, on the same subject, and that my countrymen will then say, if it was a criminal desertion of the cause, of my country, or if it was an unpardonable weakness, and despondency of mind in me at that time, to make a question of that, which now, when success and peace, have secured our independent sovereignty, is by General Washington declared to be still a *question undecided* and doubtful, and that not only so as to the present day, but to future ages. If, indeed, the small degree of order, of restraint, and of subordination, which has for the last seven years prevailed in our country, be now thrown off, and the legislative and executive powers once more return, in effect, into the hands of committees, and conventions ; if in place of that subordination to law and government, of those decent, frugal, and virtuous manners, and habits ; of that ease, and even affluence, in which our fellow-citizens formerly lived in peace and safety ; in a word, if instead of those manners, principles, and circumstances, which once marked our character, the reverse should in future take place, and prevail, under a government too weak, to prevent or remedy the evils, there cannot then remain a question on the subject, but such anarchy and confusion must ensue, as to render our independence a curse, and the present and future age in America, as unhappy as any ages to be met with, in the history of civilized nations have ever been.

The great end of civil society is, to secure to men united in it, the great blessings of peace, of liberty and safety, both in their persons and in their property, and in deciding what form of government most effectually answers this great and beneficent purpose, experience, not theory, must direct us.

This is not a subject for recluse philosophers, or subtle metaphysicians, to decide on in their closets ;—and whenever they have been referred to, they have given the preference to Utopian, or ideal and imaginary systems of their own, before those plain and simple ones, which experience has shewn to be practicable and safe.—But without looking abroad, to profit by the experience of

other nations, our own must now, with the utmost precision, and certainty, determine this great question, as *yet undecided*, and bring conviction, home to every one ; either that our present system of government is preferable, to that under which we and our ancestors, for more than one century and a half, were free, safe, and happy, or that it is not. Our situation previous to the late revolution, must be still fresh in our memories, and our present, cannot long be disguised or misunderstood by us, from our senses ; from what we see and feel, we must judge with certainty of it ; and by comparing the present with the past, this important question *must ultimately be decided*.

If happily for us, it be in favour of the present, no man will more sincerely rejoice than what I shall on the occasion ; but if on a comparison of our present with our past situation, the revolution should, which General Washington, seems to apprehend, be found a *curse*, *instead of a blessing* then indeed, I shall be one of the most unhappy of men, and the sole consolation which will be left me, will be (the almost only one which I now enjoy) a consciousness of my integrity in the service of my country, and of the purity and rectitude of my intentions, in the opinion and advice, which, in 1781, I gave in my letters to my friends in America.— Having shewn, that instead of being a defaulter, I am a creditor of the public's to a considerable amount, and impartially stated the contents, and objects of my letters of 1781, I shall take my leave for the present, and submit the whole, to your candid consideration, and whatever my fate may be, if to be restored to your good opinion and confidence, and to the bosom of my friends, and country, or to remain far exiled from them, the first and most ardent wish of my soul, will ever be, that my country's happiness will be perpetual, in the full enjoyment of peace, liberty and safety.

I am with great sincerity and respect, your friend and fellow citizen,

London, August, 10, 1783.

S. DEANE.

P. S. I have avoided entering on the subject of the numerous calumnies, which have been propagated against me, by anonymous writers, it would have been endless, and quite unnecessary, since every thing which has either been said or suggested against me, may be reduced to two questions only. First, if I acted faithfully, and was an honest steward of the public money, whilst in the service of my country ; and secondly, if the contents of my letters of May, and June, 1781, were of such a nature as to merit the harsh censures, passed on me in America on their account ; In France, I can expect no other, than to be condemned, it is what every one must expect, who calls in question, the disinterestedness of the motives of France in the late war, or who attempts to prevent our country, from becoming virtually dependent on that power. As to the reports circulated here, and which may probably reach America, of my being at the levees of the Ministers, and in frequent conference with them, and that I have acted an unfriendly part respecting our commerce, and the like, I can with the greatest truth and sincerity declare, that there is not the least foundation for them, I have not so much as seen any of the Ministers, since my arrival in this country.—And as to our commerce, I gave my opinion in 1781, in my letter to Mr. Morris, as to the restrictions, which I thought it would fall under on a peace ; if any part of what I then apprehended has been realized, I am not to blame ; I most heartily wish that no part of it may ever be so, but that experience may shew me, to have been in an error in what I wrote on that subject.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

Copy of a letter from the Count de Vergennes to the President of the Congress, March 25th, 1778.

[Printed in Vol. II., 434.]

No. 2.

Letter from his Excellency the Count de Vergennes,
Minister and Secretary of State, March 26th, 1778.

[Printed in Vol. II., 435.]

No. 3.

Benjamin Franklin to the President of Congress,
March 31st, 1778.

[Printed in Vol. II., 445.]

No. 4.

Certificate of Benjamin Franklin, December 18th,
1782.

[Printed in Vol. V., 116.]

No. 5.

Extract of instructions given by the Secret Committee of Congress, March 2d, 1776, "To the Hon. Silas Deane, Esq., agent for the Thirteen United Colonies :

"The supply we at present want is cloathing and arms for 25,000 men, with a suitable quantity of ammunition, and 100 field pieces. If France should grant these supplies, the whole will make a cargo which it might be well to secure by a convoy of two or three ships of war. But if these supplies on the credit of Congress should be refused (that is by the Court of France), you are then to endeavour the obtaining permission of purchasing those articles, or so much of them as you can find credit for."

[Signed]

B. FRANKLIN,	}	<i>Secret Committee.</i>
BENJ. HARRISON,		
JOHN DICKINSON,		
ROBERT MORRIS,		
JOHN JAY,		

The following letter contains the substance of what in 1781, I wrote to my friends and correspondents in America, in those letters which were intercepted and published in New York. Where the publication by Rivington differs from the original, I have noted and corrected it in this, and therefore the present may be relied on to be authentic. The variations in this, or in any of those letters as published, from the originals, are not so material as to acquit me of the censures already passed on me by my countrymen on account of their contents. If, on an impartial examination of the sentiments expressed in them, and on a review of the state of public affairs at the time when I wrote, it shall be judged that I merited those censures, I have selected this letter because that it contains, more fully than any one of the others, my sentiments, at the time, of the past and the then probable future situation of the commerce of the United States under independant sovereignty. The very unfavourable appearance of the war on the part of my country at the time when I wrote, added to the treatment which I had met with by the prevalence of a faction in America, and to a series of private misfortunes, may be supposed to have cast a gloom over a mind by nature and habit not either volatile or sanguine, and to have turned my view to the unfavourable side of the objects before me. With the candid and generous these circumstances will apologize for me, if indeed any apology can be tho't necessary for a free citizen's having communicated his sentiments on subjects of infinite importance to his country, in confidential letters to his fellow-citizens and intimate friends. If this be a crime, if by this I have merited the obloquy and censure with which I have been loaded in America, I can only say that it is a newly discovered crime, and that a correspondence similar to that of mine was never before deemed criminal or reprehensible in any free state, from the earliest ages of the world to the present.

From various circumstances and accidents, unforeseen

and improbable at the time, the issue of the war, with some other less important events, have been very different from what I feared, and thought to be inevitable when I wrote. This has afforded a subject for triumph over me to those who judge of men and of measures only by events. I do not repine at their triumph; on the contrary, I most ardently pray that it may be complete, and that not one of the evils which my gloomy imagination foreboded in 1781, may ever be realized. The substance of all my letters which were intercepted and published, tended, in the first place, to shew the extreme improbability of the final establishment of the independent sovereignty of the United States; and, secondly, that if established, it would prove rather a curse than a blessing to us. The first point is already determined, and, contrary to the appearance of the war in 1781, our independence and sovereignty are acknowledged and confirmed to us by the treaty of peace; but the second, and infinitely the most important, is a question which General Washington, in his circular letter, says, *is still to be decided*. At the date of my letters in May, and June, 1781, the issue of the war was at best doubtful; but he wrote after the war had been concluded, and the independent sovereignty of the United States was confirmed in the most explicit and favourable terms, yet he says: "*It is a question which remains still to be decided, whether the revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse—a blessing or a curse, not to the present age alone, for with our fate the destiny of unborn millions be involved.*" In my letter of the 20th of May, 1781, to Mr. Root, after a brief review of the progress of the war, and of the state of our affairs at that time, I said: "*From these reflections, combined with all the facts and informations that I have been able to obtain, I have deduced two propositions, of the truth of which I am fully convinced, however extraordinary they may appear in America. The first of these is, that there is no probability of our being able finally to establish our independency; and the second,*

that if it were established it would prove rather a curse than a blessing to us." My views in publishing this letter, with a few observations on it, are, in the first place, to obtain a calm and impartial rehearing, in which I flatter myself that I shall not be condemned for having, in 1781, given it as my opinion that independence, if obtained, would "*prove rather a curse, than a blessing* to us, since, after its being established, General Washington, in his letter referred to above, declares it to be a question still undecided; Secondly, to shew my countrymen (who have been told that I am inimical to their commercial interests) what my sentiments were, in 1781, as to the embarrassments and restrictions which our commerce must necessarily meet with under independent sovereignty, and that if events have hitherto tended to justify those sentiments, I cannot thence be culpable for having foreseen what from the first to the present moment I have done every thing in my power to prevent. And in the last place, by again laying before my countrymen, or reminding them of the principles and grounds on which I formed my opinion, that our political and commercial situation would be every way less favourable under independency than what it had been previous to our separation from Great-Britain, or that independency would prove *rather a curse than a blessing*, I may excite them to take proper and reasonable measures to avoid those evils which I apprehended when I wrote those letters. If I succeed in these points, I shall be perfectly satisfied; and if in the last only, by much the most important object, in my view, will be obtained.

[Here follows the letter to Robert Morris, dated June 10th, 1781. Printed in Vol. IV., 403. To which the following note * is appended.]

A great part of the observations, contained in the foregoing letter, on the situation, of the commerce of

* At the date of this letter, the British forces were in possession of New-York, of Long-Island, and Staten-Island; of all the sea coast from the Capes of Virginia southward; they had penetrated far into the country without meeting

the United States, under independent sovereignty, have been, already verified by experience; and it is worthy of remark, that as the first uneasiness in America, with the Government of Great-Britain, arose on account of the restrictions, laid by Parliament on commerce; so almost the only obstacle, which at this day remains, to prevent a restoration of the most perfect friendship, between the subjects, of both countries, is their jealousy, or different views of this object.—Neither party appears, as yet, fully to realize the state, in which their separation has actually placed them, with respect to each other; nor indeed can it be expected, that men, so lately *connected by the same bonds of law, loyalty, faith, and blood*, should at once

any material resistance, and had such a decided superiority in the American seas that full three-fourths of all the vessels that put to sea from the United States were captured; the paper of Congress could not be passed at any rate, and General Washington, with other general officers, in their letters to their friends in Europe did not scruple to say that, without aid from France, in money to pay the troops, and a fleet decidedly superior to the British, all opposition would end with that campaign. The whole of the naval force ordered by France to America that season (that is, to the Continent and to the West-Indies) was not equal to that of the British then on those seas. The Count de Grasse, who commanded, was ordered first to the West-Indies, and thence to the Continent; but as upwards of four hundred sail of French merchant ships would in the course of that summer be in want of a convoy from the West-Indies to Europe, it was given out and expected that the Count, previous to his sailing to the northward, would send off that rich fleet of merchantmen under a strong convoy, which would have rendered him unable to do more on the American coast than to give some temporary relief, and to act on the defensive. No one at the time could foresee or rationally presume, first, that the Count de Grasse would leave that immensely valuable fleet to remain in port for want of a convoy, and take every French ship of war in the West-Indies with him to the northward; or, secondly, that Lord Cornwallis, after having made himself master of all the sea coast, from the Capes of Virginia southward, would fix on one of the most unfavourable positions in all that country to encamp and fortify himself on; or, thirdly, that Gen. Clinton would suffer Gen. Washington and Count Rochambeau, to march without opposition to Virginia; or, lastly, that when the Count de Grasse took his whole force to the northward, several British ships of the line would still remain in the West-Indies, and thereby give the French fleet a superiority to the British. As no one of these events could be rationally expected or hoped for at that time; and as without a concurrence of all of them, Lord Cornwallis's army would not have been captured, and the campaign of 1781, must have terminated as much against the United States as by this singular concurrence of improbable events it ended in our favour; it may with great justice be said, that the affairs of the United States never were at any period in a more critical and dangerous situation; and every one who reads the whole of those letters, will see, that the mind of the writer was deeply impressed with a sense of the impending dangers, and anxiously solicitous, with his countrymen, to take such measures as appeared to him the best calculated to avoid them.

bring themselves, to regard each other, in the light of aliens, strangers, and foreigners, whose future connections, and intercourse, are to be regulated, and governed by interest only; and that they have no longer, any rightful claim on each other, for commercial privileges, or advantages of any kind, or nature whatsoever.—

Hence it is, that the proclamation, restricting the commerce between the United States, and the British West-Indies, to British subjects, and British ships, has been regarded in America, as an act of partiality, and even of injustice, though without that act, no commerce could have taken place, between the two countries, in the state, in which, their final separation, necessarily left them; And in which, (like as with individuals, who are strangers to, and unconnected with each other,) their trade and intercourse, must originate, solely from the wants, the superfluities, and the interests of both parties.—Several publications, have appeared within the last twelvemonths, on the trade of Great-Britain, and her West-India Islands, with the United States, and on the terms, and conditions, by which it ought to be regulated, and able writers have taken opposite sides, on the question, but it appears to me, that it has not been placed in its true point of light, or justly, and impartially stated, by any of them, though the public are indebted to their discussion, for much, and useful information, on this important subject; the principal arguments of both parties, have been too much in this stile, *we can better dispense, with your trade, and commerce, than you can do without ours.*

But commerce between individuals, or nations, is not to be regulated, by a principle or motive, like this, but by apparent, or real mutual interests. The principal questions on this subject, appear to me, to be; How far it is for the interests of Great-Britain, to indulge the United States, with their former privileges of trade, with the British West-Indies, and to permit ships built, and owned in the United States, to be purchased or reighted, by British subjects, in British ports; there

are indeed, several other points in question, but these two are the most important, and on them, opposite opinions, have been advanced. On the one hand, the strenuous supporters, of the navigation act, say, that no alteration, or repeal of any part of it, ought to take place, and consequently, that the subjects of the United States cannot, consistently with the interests of Great-Britain, be permitted to trade, with her West-India islands, or with any of her foreign possessions, in their own ships; and that ships built, or owned in the United States, shall not be admitted for sale, or freight, in any of the British ports; on the other, it is said, by those, interested in the West-India plantations, and in that trade, and by many who are engaged in, or acquainted with, the commerce between Great-Britain, and the United States, that the local situation, and circumstances of the West-India islands, are such, as to render it essentially, for their interest, and ultimately, for the interest of the whole empire, to grant to the United States, a free, and unrestricted commerce with them; and that to permit ships, built, or owned in the United States, to be purchased, or freighted, in British ports, will not prejudice, but greatly promote, the commercial interests of this nation. The facts adduced, and the arguments urged, in the support of their different opinions, are before the public, and it is not my intention, to attempt, an examination of them, but only to make a few observations, which may lead to the adopting of a mean, between these two extremes. And it ought to be observed, that in a negotiation, for regulating the commercial intercourse, of the two countries, (the British dominions, and the United States), one party, has no claim whatever, on the other, and that interest alone, must dictate; and, therefore, that previous to the forming of any decisive opinion, or to the coming, to any final resolution, on the subject, the particular, as well as the general situation, and interests, of both, ought to be impartially examined, and stated. It is well known, that the

United States, produce a surplus of provisions, of every kind, as also of horses, lumber, and a variety of other articles, for which, no market can be found, equally near, and favorable, with that which the West-India islands afford, and that in return, the United States, are in want of the production of the islands, to the full amount of their exports to them, and in particular, of rum from the British West-Indies, which article is not to be had, at present, in any quantity, and of a tolerable quality, from any other quarter; And altho' it has been asserted, that the British West-Indies, may be supplied, with the articles, former furnished by the United States, from Great-Britain, Ireland, and the remaining British Colonies; yet it has not been denied, by any writer on the subject, that the West-India islands, by means of a free trade with the United States, for provisions, horses, cattle, lumber, &c., will be much more regularly, and constantly supplied, and at a cheaper rate, than what they can be, if that trade is prohibited, or too closely restricted; nor has it been pretended by any one, that the West-India islands, can find in any other country, so extensive, and advantageous a market, for their rum, as in the United States.—Thus far, mutual wants, and mutual advantages, in supplying the demands, of each other, are indisputably in favour, of as free a commercial intercourse, between the United States, and the British West-Indies, as can be permitted by Great-Britain, consistent with the general interest, of the nation. But besides the articles of the produce, of the United States, wanted in the islands, they have also raw materials, to a large amount, which in the present state, of the population, of the Continent, cannot be manufactured by them, to advantage; a foreign market is therefore to be sought for, and this can be found, only in manufacturing countries:—In return, the United States, are in want, of the manufactures, of foreign countries, to a much larger amount, than the value of the raw materials, which they have to send

abroad; their demand is nearly for the value of two millions sterl. annually, and this demand is increasing.

Great-Britain, being the first manufacturing, and commercial nation in the world, can give the United States, the best market, for their raw materials, and supply them on the best terms, with the foreign merchandize, and manufactures wanted by them; and experience shews that the Americans prefer the British markets, and manufactures to all others; and on the part of Great-Britain, every foreign market, for her manufactures, is of importance, in proportion to its demand, and to the value of the raw materials received in return; these circumstances naturally lead to the establishing of a trade between the two countries, on the most rational and permanent principle, that of mutual interest. It is undoubtedly true, that Great-Britain, and her West-India islands may, by adopting of certain measures, and suffering some temporary inconveniencies, be supplied with the articles formerly received from the United States, from other countries, and to permit the United States, to supply them with those articles, in their own ships, and to enjoy a certain part of the commercial privileges, formerly enjoyed by them, under the British Government, will be a violation of the navigation act, and of some other acts of Parliament;—but it is equally certain, that without some privileges of commerce, with Great-Britain, and with her West-India Islands, the United States cannot pay for this amount of British goods, and manufactures, and although they prefer them, to those of any other country, yet without the means of paying for them, they must discontinue, or greatly lessen their consumption. But is it not for the interest of Great-Britain, to retain a market, which annually calls for near two millions, in value, of her manufactures?—It has been said, that there is no danger on this account, for that other markets may be found, but is it not good policy, for a manufacturing country, to

increase the number of its markets, rather than simply to exchange one, for another, of equal importance?—The superior quality of most of the British manufactures, may command a market for them in every country, which has the means of paying for them, but it is but too probable, if the present restrictions are continued, that the merchants in the United States, will not be able, for some years to come, to pay even for the goods imported by them during the last twelve months only;—If the British West-Indies can be supplied from Great-Britain, and Ireland, and the remaining British possessions, in America, or indeed from any other country, with the articles, formerly sent them, from the United States, as regularly, and at as cheap a rate, as they heretofore had them;—and if those who supply them, will take in exchange, that quantity of rum, formerly consumed in the United States, it is evident, that the West-India planters, and merchants, can have nothing to complain of on this subject; but these are questions not yet decided, and the situation of the West-India estates, is such, as to render the experiment extremely hazardous. On the part of the United States, it is urged, that, as British ships are permitted, to enter their ports, with the produce, manufactures, and merchandize of Great-Britain, and of Ireland, their ships have an equitable claim, to the same privileges, in the British, and that the same intercourse ought to be permitted between them, and the British West-India islands;—the navigation act directly, and wholly forbids this, but the late proclamations, suspending in part, the operation of that act, with respect to the United States, admits the first part of this demand, in every article, except that of oil only, and rejects the latter, by confining the trade, between the United States and the British West-Indies, to British built ships, owned, and navigated as the act prescribes, by British subjects.—On the part of Great-Britain, the question appears to me, to be, if it is not more for the interest, of her commerce, and

manufactures, to permit the Americans, to be their own carriers, to and from the West-India islands, and every other part of her European and American dominions, and to sell their ships, or to take freights, in British ports, than by a rigid adherence, to the letter of the navigation act, to expose her West-India subjects to great inconveniences, and real losses, and deprive her merchants, and manufacturers, of a great part at least of a large, and increasing demand, for their goods. It has been repeatedly demanded, what the United States can give, in return, to Great-Britain, for such a relaxation of the navigation act, in their favour, and it must be acknowledged, that the United States, by their treaties with France, and Holland, cannot grant to Great-Britain, or to any other nation, any exclusive privileges: but the subjects of the United States, being at liberty, to prefer the markets, and manufactures, of one country, to those of another, and as they naturally will give the preference, to the British, if they are not prevented by acts, and laws, from carrying their produce freely to those markets, and thereby become deprived of a great part of the means of paying for those manufactures, the question then comes to this, if the relaxation of the navigation act, or the privileges urged for, by the Americans, will not ultimately be, as much for the interest of Great-Britain, as for that of the United States, and if on examination, this shall, (as I think it will) be found to be the case, then it is clear, that Great-Britain can have no demand, upon the Americans, for any thing in return, for measures, as much for her interest as for theirs. It would require a large volume to discuss this subject, as fully as it merits, I shall therefore only observe, that as in the management and regulation of the trade, and commercial intercourse of the two countries, with each other, motives of interest alone must govern, so each of them, ought to examine, with the utmost attention, and impartiality, what on the whole is most for the general interest, of their respect-

ive countries, and not to confine themselves, to particular branches, or to partial views.

If on the enquiry, it appear to be inconsistent with the general interest of Great-Britain to permit the Americans to purchase, and export from her West-Indies certain articles of their produce, for instance, sugar, or cotton, or indigo, they will be excepted, in the general permission, and the same principle, must necessarily be adopted by the United States.—This can afford no just grounds for complaint, on either side. Sugar, cotton, and indigo, are almost the only articles of West-India Produce, which Great-Britain can wish to make a monopoly of—the United States are in no want of indigo, and their consumption of cotton, has ever been inconsiderable, and it is agreed by all the writers on this subject, that the Americans can purchase sugar much cheaper in the French, Dutch and Danish Islands, than in those of the English. The articles of salted beef, butter, tallow, and candles, may be sent to the West-Indies, at a lower rate from Ireland, than from the United States; hence it appears to me, that if an entirely free, and unlimited commerce between the United States, and those Islands cannot be permitted, consistent with the general interest of Great-Britain yet it is not a very difficult task to regulate it, in such a manner, as to be agreeable, and advantageous, to both countries.

The principal objection to such a system, is, that hereby Great-Britain, must loose, and the United States gain, in the carrying business; on this Lord Sheffield has forcibly argued, in his *Observations, on the Commerce of the American States*. Though I must candidly declare, that, as far as my knowledge extends, the facts advanced by his Lordship, in that publication, relative to the imports, and exports of the United States, are justly stated, yet I can by no means subscribe to all the inferences, and conclusions, which he draws from them. But were I to enter on this subject, I should swell, what is designed to be but

a small pamphlet published in my personal vindication, into a large volume; I shall therefore only observe generally here, what I have repeatedly urged in conversation with the noble Lord, and there is not the least danger, of the United States, becoming the rivals, of Great-Britain, in the carrying trade, or in a marine;—That although building ships for sale, and for carrying the goods of other countries, and for the fisheries, was the principal resource of one, or two, (at most,) of the northern states, yet the United States collectively, never were their own carriers; for though the New-England States, carried their own produce, in ships built and navigated by their own people, and in some instances, became carriers for other countries; yet that was not the case, with any of the middle, or of the southern States. The tobacco, naval stores, rice, indigo, lumber, and other productions of the middle and southern States, required by three times more tons of shipping, than was ever owned by them, or that could, at any period, have been put into that business, by the northern States; and that it is not possible, at least in the natural course of things, that the southern States, can for ages, if ever, become carriers even of their own produce; and that it must require some space of time, for the northern States, to have a sufficiency of shipping, even to answer this demand;—farther I have urged, that, as every one, who has wares, or merchandize to be transported to market, will naturally prefer the most cheap, and direct conveyance, and as the purchasers will attend only to the quality, and price of them, this branch of commerce, like all others, must, and will, regulate itself by the infallible principle of interest, rightly understood; and it may be worthy of observation, that if the United States are not permitted to be their own carriers between them, and the West-Indies, on the presumption, that this would encourage the carrying trade, and encrease the marine of the northern States, to the prejudice of that of Great-Britain; The consequence

will be, that the New-England States, will turn their attention, to the carrying business of Maryland, Virginia, and of the other southern States, and by engrossing of it, more than make themselves amends, for their loss of freight to, and from the British West-Indies.

I may be told, that my present observations, are in part of them, different from those contained in the foregoing letter, for that I then gave it, as my opinion, that in consequence of the confirmation, of the independence of the United States, and of their final separation from Great-Britain, Great-Britain would necessarily exclude the ships of the United States from her West-India ports; but it ought to be remembered, that at the date of that letter, it was universally expected, that at the close of the war, the two Florida's, and East-Louisiana, would be confirmed to Great-Britain; and that the resigning of those countries to Spain, makes the case extremely different, from what it would have been, had Great-Britain retained them; and that I meant, in writing to Mr. Morris, to lay before him, not only, what would be for the interest of Great-Britain, but also what would be in her power to do, respecting the commerce of the United States.

FINIS.

TO JOHN JAY.

London, Jan. 21st, 1784.

SIR,—I called at your lodgings in November last, but your servant told me that you was not within, and that you intended to set out for Bath in a day or two, on which, being exceedingly desirous of an interview with you, I sent you a letter requesting that favor; but going out of town myself a few days after, and having received no answer, I am at a loss what to conclude on, whether my letter might have failed, or that you do not incline to favor me with an interview, and hence I am induced to trouble you with this, and to request that you will simply inform me by a line if you received

my letter of November, and if an interview will be agreeable or not. I wish to obviate and remove any late prejudices which you may have entertained against me from the most gross misrepresentations of my conduct since my arrival in England; and I submit to you the propriety of giving me an opportunity for doing this, and am, with great respect, Sir,

Your most Obedt. and Very Humble Servt.,

SILAS DEANE.

Fleet Street, No. 135.
Hon. John Jay, Esq.

Jay Mss.

FROM JOHN JAY.

Chaillot, near Paris, Feb. 23d, 1784.

SIR,—Your letter of 21st, January was delivered to me this morning. It is painful to say disagreeable things to any person, and especially to those with whom one has lived in habits of friendship; but candor on this occasion forbids reserve. You was of the number of those who possessed my esteem, and to whom I was attached. To me personally you have never given offense; but, on the contrary, I am persuaded you sincerely wished me well, and was disposed to do me good offices.

The card you left for me at Mr. Bingham's, and also the letter you mention, were both delivered to me, and I cannot express the regret I experienced from the cruel necessity I thought myself under of passing them over in silence; but I love my country and my honor better than my friends, and even my family, and am ready to part with them all whenever it would be improper to retain them. You are either exceedingly injured, or you are no friend to America; and while doubts remain on that point all connection between us must be suspended.

I wished to hear what you might have to say on that

head, and should have named a time and place for an interview had not an insurmountable obstacle intervened to prevent it. I was told by more than one on whose information I thought I could rely, that you received visits and was on terms of familiarity with Gen. Arnold. Every American who gives his hand to that man, in my opinion, pollutes it. I think it my duty to deal thus candidly with you, and I assure you with equal sincerity, that it would give me cordial satisfaction to find you able to acquit yourself in the judgment of the dispassionate and impartial.

If it is in your power to do it, I think you do yourself an injustice in not undertaking that necessary task. That you may perform it successfully whenever you undertake it is the sincere wish and desire of, Sir,

Your most obt., humble Servt.,

JOHN JAY.

Silas Deane, Esq.

Jay Mss.

TO BARNABAS DEANE.

London, March 10th, 1784.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Your letter of the 16th, November last is before me, and I have delayed answering it to the last moment of Sebor's setting out, in hopes that I should receive the letter to which you refer, sent inclosed to Col. Wadsworth. He is now here, but has not received your letter, nor other letters and papers brought over by Mr. Trumbull for him. I refer you to Mr. Sebor for particulars. Am sorry that my complaints have given you pain. I have been too free in them, but indeed I have not blamed you that I recollect, except for your not writing to me. I thank you for the aid you propose for me. As to my son, I have proposed to Mr. Sebor to take him into his store, which he means to establish at Hartford, but refer to your determination on the subject. Mr. Bar-

clay, the Consul of Congress, is now here. Accident and sickness have hitherto prevented our entering on my accompts, but he has promised not to leave the city until he shall have finished them. When this is done, I shall come to some resolution as to future proceedings, and will let you know. I see no inviting prospect to return to any part of America at present. As to Mr. Moses, Col. Duer, &c., I want their accompts, as they had effects and monies of mine in hand. I had therefore no accompts to furnish you with. They most certainly will not refuse, if applied to, to give an accompt of the state of those affairs. Col. Duer, with Mr. Wilson, received near fifteen thousand pounds of me on account of the mast contract, which not having been executed, the money, except the expence—that is, my average of it—ought to be accounted for. Money was not more than ten for one when it was received. Mr. Moses sold goods for me in Philadelphia, and interested me one third in a schooner, which made two voyages. He received of me a large quantity of cloaths, &c., on my leaving Philadelphia, which he was to sell and account for. To this Mr. Sebor was knowing, and I hope on his arrival the whole may be settled. I have wrote to Mr. Webb, and shall, as soon as I have conversed with Col. Wadsworth, send you a distinct, separate, and express power; but if I settle my accompts I will return in the course of the season and meet both friends and foes on their own ground. I have received a letter from Mr. Thomas Mumford, in which he expresses much friendship for me, and I have answered it. I hope that he is sincere. I wish I could give you any thing agreeable, either as to our commerce or politics from this side; but I cannot say more, in one word, than that the two most happy and free countries in the world, Great Britain and the United States, by a fatal misunderstanding, have nearly ruined each other; and I have no prospect that they will during my life recover themselves. As to a reunion, I do not expect, I do

not even wish for it. The parting struggles are now over, and a reunion would only tend to renew them at some future period. In reality our countrymen may be assured that this country does not wish for anything in future from us but our commerce, and of that, whilst their manufactures are preferable to those of other countries, they are secure. I wish, however, that our nearest alliance and connection may be with this country, because it is the most advanced in the arts, sciences, and agriculture, and of trade and commerce of any in Europe, and that it enjoys a degree of civil and religious liberty unknown in any other country. But I will not make this a political or a plaintive letter, and therefore with affectionate regards to sister Buck and family, and compliments the most respectful to Col. G. Wylls, I am, my Dear Brother, most affectionately yours,

S. DEANE.

Barnabas Deane, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

TO BARNABAS DEANE,

London, March 30th, 1784.

DEAR BROTHER,—As I shall soon write you particularly and at large, I shall say nothing more in this than that my situation is not materially altered since my last. Can hear nothing from Congress or their Consul, though he finished the examination of my accompts more than twelve months since. As to the mortgage deeds of Wharton and Trent, there is no necessity to send them to Doctor Bancroft, as you can yourself get them put on record, which, if you have not already done, I hope you will lose no time in doing it; and if the lands will raise the money, or near it, let them be sold. That sum would enable me to engage in a certain plan of business in this country, which would soon free me from my present embarrassments,

and prevent future ones. Give my compliments to all friends who may ask after me, particularly to Col. Wyllys and Col. Wadsworth.

I am, Dear Brother, yours,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Barnabas Deane.

Thomas Mss.

TO CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

London, April 2d, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR,—It was unfortunate for both of us that you was forced to return so suddenly when you was here last summer, as many hours might have been profitably spent in conversation on subjects of importance to you, as well as to me. But since I cannot expect another visit from you soon, I must as briefly as possible inform you by writing of several things interesting. Your enemies, as well as mine, are still predominant in Congress; and though that body have lost almost all weight or influence or respect in the United States, and are scarcely able to hold together, yet, weak as they are, they have power to do infinite mischief to those who have demands on the United States for past services, and whose accompts have not been formally acknowledged and passed by them, which is your case, as well as mine. The money advanced to Eyries under the name of Harcourt, on accompt of Mr. Morris, has been charged to my accompt. I gave you all the papers on that subject, and as Eyries is now returned to France, I hope that you have settled with him, and whatever is or may be recovered of him must be accounted for to Mr. Morris, whose the money was; whatever the loss may be must be shared and borne by him, with others interested in that unhappy adventure, rendered unfortunate solely through the treachery of Eyries. I must intreat of you to inform me if you have settled with him, or if there is any

probability of it, and as near as you can how that affair is situated. Mr. Barclay has been with me to examine my accompts. But his instructions from Congress are such that it is impossible to settle with him. I can but tell you freely that I think them drawn up in that manner with design. Men who have no disposition to pay are often ingenious at putting off a settlement. He, Mr. Barclay, has orders to pass no articles of account without the most explicit vouchers ; to pay no regard to any settlement already made without examining of it himself ; and for merchandize and stores shipped to America, he is ordered to enquire if they were of a good quality, if they were charged at a just price, by whom they were shipped, &c., &c. Thus the cloathing of their army, furnished by you seven years since, and still unpaid for ; the cannon, fusees, powder, &c., sent out to them by your exertions, and by my unceasing promises and encouragements to you. Yes, Sir, the quality, price, and quantity of those very arms and stores which enabled their army in 1777 to triumph over General Burgoyne, and decided the fate of the United States, are now to be minutely inquired into, and you are to receive no more money until the result of the inquiry shall be approved of by Congress. Your astonishment must equal my indignation at such conduct. I well know that you have no reason to dread the severest examination into your conduct which reason and justice can warrant, and I know that the quality as well as the prices of your goods and stores were examined at the time ; and you must remember my sending Mr. Williams to Nantes for that purpose, and his certifying that every thing was well laid in ; and I cannot conceive how any new examination can be made ; yet such I am informed are the orders. As to my commissions for all my trouble and anxiety in that service, I find that Mr. Barclay will not allow any thing without consulting of Congress. I must, therefore, despair of any thing on that or on any other account from them ; for when every article objected to by their

Consul here must be sent to America to be judged of by men wholly ignorant of every circumstance attending it, and their deliberations and answer to be waited for, and then a second explanation required, and so on, the age of Methuselah would hardly be sufficient to settle such an accout as yours or as mine, and there is not the least probability that the existence of Congress will extend to that period. Indeed, my friend, every thing tends to convince me that their dissolution is near. Every gentleman that I have conversed with, and every letter I have seen from America, concur in this: *That unless Congress can be vested with greater power than what they at present can claim or exercise, they must be totally dissolved, and some new system succeed; at the same time, the General Assemblies of the several States, and the people at large, are for abridging that little share of power which they have.* Hence the consequences are easily foreseen. If you ask what the people who are for abridging the power of Congress, and consequently for dissolving that body, can propose by it, I can only give you what has been suggested to me, and which carries with it some degree of probability. The General Assemblies of the several States are, as such, averse to increase the power of Congress, least that body dictate to them their duty. As dependant on the people at large, they dare not to do anything which may tend to offend them. And the people at large, pressed by taxes, say that the expence of Congress increases their burthens; that peace being restored, and no danger of any future war, there is no further necessity for a Congress, for that every State is capable of taking care of itself, and of the management of their own affairs, and that singly and separately it will be done with more œconomy. Besides these, there are some (would to God they were less numerous!) who wish to see Congress totally and forever annihilated, expecting thereby to annihilate all the public debts, internal as well as foreign; in a word, to sponge out Congress, and with them all their past

money engagements. That union which subsisted between the several States during the war, but especially that between the Northern and the Southern States, was in too great a degree an union from the necessity of the time, from the war existing in the country. The cause (and with it, unhappily, the effect,) has ceased, and old partialities and jealousies and local prejudices are reviving, and threaten to operate with additional force. Hence men of observation and of cool reflection in America, convinced that the thirteen United States can not be governed by a Congress so extremely weak as to coercive power ; and that thirteen sovereign, independant, separate States will render them even weaker than at present ; and knowing that the General Assemblies will not increase the power of Congress, they wish to see the whole of them divided into two new confederations, the Northern and the Southern. I am informed that it is probable that before this takes place the present Congress will be dissolved, and the confederation have for a time no force at all, but each State govern itself separately and independantly. This appears to be a favorite object with the common people, who are made to believe that on the dissolution of Congress all public debts will be annihilated, and that public expences will cease, except for their own internal government, and consequently their taxes be reduced to their old rate before the war, which was but a trifle. In truth, the country is not able to pay heavy taxes, and the people will not submit to them. The French and English troops left a large quantity of specie in the country, but the merchants, having scarce any articles for remittance, the specie of the country returns to Europe, principally to this country, almost as fast as it went out. It is computed that more than two million of dollars have been brought into England from the United States since the signing of the treaty of peace, and the goods now shipped and shipping for America amount to more than the whole of the money in the United States.

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Nearly eighty sail of ships are going out from the different ports of this kingdom, and many from Ireland. But if the government of the country was stated and fixed, and of sufficient energy to establish a regular finance and revenue, the prospect would not be so discouraging; for as to trade and commerce, they will naturally regulate themselves. But whichever of the abovementioned events take place, I fear that our prospect of payment is but discouraging. I have explained many things relative to your accompts to Mr. Barclay's satisfaction, but this brings you no nearer the object wished for, which is a final close. In a word, my dear friend, I fear that after all our services to the United States we shall have no other satisfaction but that of complaining to the world of our treatment, and that will be but a poor consolation. I have wrote without reserve, and I must add that the sending of your accompts to Congress, to be settled in America, will not, in my opinion, answer any purpose of good. Yet I know not what to advise, unless it be to make one more attempt by laying the state of your case before the Congress to endeavor to persuade them to give Mr. Barclay different powers from his present, such as will enable him to act his own judgment in a great measure, or in difficult or doubtful points to submit the question to arbitrament; for it appears that they are at present resolved to admit of no settlement which is not reexamined and approved of by Mr. Barclay; and I do not think him a man any way disposed to do you injustice. I must pray you to acknowledge the receipt of this long letter, and to give me your thoughts on the subject of it. I shall be impatient until I hear from you. Direct your letters under cover to Mr. Frederick William Geyer, merchant, No. 60 Fen Church Street, London. If Mr. Barclay had discretionary powers he would be able to settle my accompts without referring to Congress, and I doubt not he might do the same with yours; and would it not be better to have them settled, even at

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some loss, than to continue in their present state? It appears to me, indeed, that a settlement, even though nothing could be obtained in payment, is preferable to their present situation. Should either of the revolutions which I have mentioned take place, that is, should Congress be dissolved, and each State become separately sovereign and independant, or should they form two new and distinct confederations, public creditors may bid adieu to all future hopes or expectations. But whilst the old confederation is in any degree of force, and the appearance of a general Congress is kept up, however weak and inefficient its resolves and orders may be, there remains some hope that the majority of the people, who are honest and mean well, must see the necessity of giving more enlarged and extensive powers to that body, and of restoring to them their original weight and influence, fixed and established on a more solid and permanent basis than what it hitherto has been. This is the only hope which remains with me for the welfare of my country, or for justice to myself as an individual. If this fail, I fear, at least, that temporary anarchy will prevail; for thirteen States without a common head, or with one too weak to direct and govern, are at least on the borders of anarchy. As I have opened my mind to you without reserve, I have done it in full confidence that the contents of this letter will not be communicated to any person whatever, but that you will reserve them for your own private reflections and use, if any can be made of them, and must repeat my request that you will inform me without delay of the state of the affair with Eyries. I have the honor to be, with the most sincere respect and esteem, Dear Sir,

Your most Obedt. & Very Humble Servt.,

S. DEANE.

Monsr. Beaumarchais.

Thomas Mss.

TO SIMEON DEANE.

London, April 3d, 1784.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I have before me your three letters of the 7th, of October last, and of the 1st and 15th, of December, and hope that our future correspondence will not be interrupted by a set of rascals, who for more than two years past have laid their hands on almost all the letters going from or coming to me as lawful plunder. I say I hope, for I am as far from being certain of this as I am that my countrymen will enjoy that peace and prosperity which they have been promised under independence. In short, I find my name again taken up, and from being a poor, distressed, and even despised exile, I have influenced the councils of this nation, and directed the late Ministers in their measures respecting our commerce. Every American in Europe professes to believe this so fully, that I expect it will, for a time at least, be received and credited without a question or the shadow of a doubt in America, and hence my correspondence may again be pryed into and intercepted. But from what I have personally suffered, and more especially from the pain which I have given my friends in this way, I shall be cautious in future. It would be to no purpose to authorise you, or any other friend of mine, to contradict those reports. For though I sent you proofs of the falsity of those reports strong as those from holy writ or mathematical demonstration, it would avail nothing in the present temper of the times. It would only tend to do you a disservice by committing you on the side of a most unpopular cause. The general belief among my countrymen here is that but for the advice and information which I gave, on my first arrival in this country, we should have been admitted by treaty and by acts of Parliament to a free commerce with the British West Indies and with every other part of the British dominions,

on the same terms as before our separation from, and independence on, this nation. The French Ministers, who bear me mortal hatred, are careful to assert this to every American in France, and the bill brought in by Mr. Pitt during his former administration, but which failed in the House of Commons, serves to confirm this opinion. It is, therefore, in vain for me to attempt to contradict it at present to any but to a few intimate friends; and to them, whom it is neither my interest or wish to deceive or mislead, I can with great sincerity affirm that I am not nor ever was any way connected with the late, or with any other, Ministers of this country. The only interview which I ever had with the late Ministers was long after that measure was taken, and the only reason for my asking for an interview was to persuade them to adopt a different plan, and to lay our commerce open with the West Indies, at least for everything except the carrying of sugar from thence to Europe. This, I am confident, would have been adopted had it not been for the sudden and unexpected change of the Ministry. But Mr. Pitt is now premier, and, as I may say, rides on the wings of popularity for the present, and a new Parliament will meet in May, in which he will have a majority; and at present the Ministers have power to open the commerce, if they judge proper. It is given out that they will do it. A short time will shew what their measures will be. I do not depend on them. I have seen enough of politics before I came to this country, and of the temporizing, time-serving disposition of men in power, or wishing to be in, to place no dependence on anything; and what I have seen here, has helped to confirm my opinion of the uncertainty of every thing of the kind. But I do not blame my countrymen for their suspicions of me on this subject. They know that I am a man greatly injured; that I have in effect been ungratefully proscribed and driven from my country; and they know that I am not devoid of passion and resentment; and the conclusion

which they draw from thence is natural, and though in the present instance unjust, it would be to no purpose to attempt to convince them of it at present.

I presume that this letter will find you in Virginia, and if you have not already done it, I pray you to give me what your situation and prospects are. I cannot long remain in my present situation, but must attempt something in this country or in America. I prefer the latter, if I can do it with safety and a prospect of advantage. Shall I join you this fall in Virginia with a small assortment of goods? If you advise it, and will give orders and the invoice, I will try to do so. Since my last letters to you I have made a tour through all the manufacturing towns of this kingdom, and have examined their late and new inventions and machines of various kind. Of most of them I have draughts. Some of them would not fail of being immensely profitable in America, especially in Virginia. The mills I formerly mentioned to you, I have done nothing about; but they are by no means such as you were told of on Long Island, which were built for £100. One of those I proposed could not be built for £500 in the best of times, or at most for not much less. But I have since seen mills on a new and different construction, and every way preferable. They are both corn mills and iron works, rolling and slitting mills, worked by a steam engine which carries them with an amazing degree of force, and without any greater interruption or cessation than what you choose.

The expence of one of these engines, that is, the first cost, is, according to the size of the engine, from £300 to £2,000 sterling, or even more for very large ones; but I have not been able to ascertain of what size one of them ought to be to carry a certain number of saws. For there are no saw mills in this country. Sawing is all done by hand. I have also models of mills for manufacturing of tobacco into snuff; for cutting it for smoaking; for making it into *carottes*, as the French call it, &c. If peace and good order are

established in Virginia, and you resolve on finally settling in Virginia at Portsmouth, would wish to join you, and so try to do something in some such way, as there are vast quantities of good timber near Portsmouth. I think saw mills on the plan which I formerly proposed, by wind, or by a steam engine, must be very profitable, as the first cost of the timber will be but trifling, and a ready market for the boards, and so on, and the same respecting the manufacture of tobacco. Besides the emolument to us individually, nothing would be of more or greater service to the country than the introduction of some such machines.

Mr. Barclay, the Consul, has been with me, examining my accompts for some time; but his instructions are so drawn up that everything any way doubtful must be referred to Congress, hence I despair of ever living to see a close of them. Indeed, a close was all I could hope for, since they have not at present, nor are like to have, any thing for a long time to come to pay with. I must, therefore, turn to something for a subsistence, and I would seek it in America in preference, if it can be done in peace and quietness. With the politics of my country I can have no temptation to meddle anew. But if anarchy and confusion prevail, and everyone anyway obnoxious is to lye at the mercy of the mob, any other country will be preferable to me, and I think to you also. But of this I pray you to write me at large by the first ship, and inclose your letter to Mr. Fred. Wm. Geyer, merchant, London. As this government will probably give great encouragement to the trade of Canada and of Nova Scotia, to their West Indies especially, and to the distilleries and flour business, and other branches in Canada particularly, could I command my capital or enter any reputable concern, I would sooner try my fortune there than in New England under the present situation of our government. By this you will see how extremely undetermined I am, and how much I need your information and advice, on which I greatly rely.

The public papers will give you the political state of this country, which for four months past has been as distracted as ours can be, and we are now in the height of electioneering, and of course in riot and party confusions enough almost, to make one say that liberty may be bought too dear, and that "whate'er is best administered is best." As you are at such a distance from Connecticut, it is needless to say anything on my affairs there, farther than that I have wrote to Mr. J. Webb, and proposed a general and summary close of our affairs. I know him to be in unhappy circumstances, as well as myself; but it is ungenerous in him to blame me on that account. He owes it all to himself and to the extravagance of his connections. I have directed this letter under cover to Col. Oswald at Philadelphia, and hope that it may come safe to hand. With my best wishes, I am, my Dear Brother,

Affectionately Yours,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Simeon Deane.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

TO SIMEON DEANE.


London, April 30th, 1784.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I wrote a few weeks since, by Capt. Ingraham, and inclosed the letter to Col. Oswald. I have no letter from you since the 15th, of December, at which I am much surprized. What prospects you had of obtaining anything from Wharton or Trent, how you have succeeded in Virginia in the settlement of your affairs there, and what you further propose, are subjects which greatly interest me. Messrs. Sabbatier & Despres write me that they know nothing of any settlement made by you with Mr. Holker, and therefore refuse to account with me for the insurance on the *Deuxamis*, &c. If matters are likely to take a quiet and peaceable turn in Virginia, and a small cargo of

goods from hence would answer to any good purpose, I would attempt something in both our names (by your authority). You say that you shall reside at Portsmouth. Have you succeeded in securing the lands you were about taking up there when I left you, or have you suffered a villainous parson to cheat you out of them? I am very confident that mills for sawing and grinding, and for other purposes, may be managed to good advantage in the lower parts of Virginia; not on the plan of wind (I give up that), though a good one, in favor of one to me evidently preferable, and eventually cheaper and more profitable, that of being worked by fire engines, a new improvement in this country, which renders streams of water of no consequence in comparison with what they were of formerly. The first cost is more, and I have not yet ascertained what it will be, but about five hundred pounds sterling will purchase the whole of the iron machinery for a mill that will carry forty saws, or four or five pair of mill-stones. Having seen and examined several of these new constructed mills, and being intimately acquainted with the inventors and constructors of them, I cannot be deceived; nor can you suppose it to be a visionary project, when I assure you that one of those mills is now erecting in London to carry forty pair of mill stones on one floor by a steam or fire engine. Every part of the mills, except this, will come at nearly the same expence as those of other constructions, with this saving—that no dam, which, with its repairs, often costs more than all the rest, is wanted, and you may choose your situation in the midst of a forest, if you please.

May 6th. I wrote thus far, and having no direct conveyance, laid it by. This day the Coffee House keeper gave me a letter. I was pleased to find it was from you by the hand writing, but sadly disappointed, on opening, to meet with nothing but a dictionary and a note, by which I presume that you were at Baltimore the 5th, of February, when you wrote. I do not want a

dictionary, nor shall I make any further use of it than to keep it to explain any letters which you may write by it ; but there is, in my opinion, no need of it at this time. The rascals who will break open my letters will, if they cannot read them, detain or throw them into the fire. Besides this, I have no secrets to write. Letters to me, instead of being addressed to the care of Mr. F. W. Geyer, should be inclosed to him, which will prevent their being opened ; and my letters to you, unless by some person of trust going direct, will be under cover to Sebor at New York, or to Col. Oswald at Philadelphia. I shall go into the country next week, purposely to examine more in detail the machines I have mentioned above, and to know what the cost of them may be, and of a workman to go with them to Virginia. It is, therefore, of importance that I hear from you soon, and know your opinion on the subject. I can obtain a credit here for a short time for the machines, and propose to engage for two ; one to carry sixty saws, and the other four or six pairs of mill stones, and perhaps a third small one, for the manufacturing of tobacco into snuff, which must turn to good account. But I cannot take advantage of the knowledge which I have acquired by observation and study on these subjects without taking others into the concern, though a capital of about two thousand pounds would be sufficient for the purpose. I must repeat my opinion that writing in cypher is totally unnecessary at this time, and am more chagrined than I can express to find that you threw away the time in which you might have wrote me a long letter, with much useful information, in making out a cypher which to me will be wholly useless, except to explain your letters by. But what chagrins me still more is that you hint as if you would not venture to write me further until you should be sure of my receiving your dictionary. I pray God that you may think better of it, or I shall be out of all patience. As to the voyage you mention, I think that it will answer, if you can get a ship that is British bot-



tom ; otherways, not ; for the Barbary corsairs are at this time more numerous and formidable than ever, and I should not be surprized to find them cruising in the ocean for our ships bound to Spain and Portugal ; for all with them is free plunder, except the property of those nations with which they are in alliance, or rather who purchase their good will. This effectually shuts us out of the Mediterranean, and from the coast of Africa, at least any where in their neighborhood. I send you at foot the price of tobacco, rice, indigo, and pot ashes. Scarce any other article will answer from America. Oil, whalebone, &c., are excluded, and the bounty on naval stores being withdrawn, the price will not answer the freight and first cost. I have said that the first cost of mills on the plan which I have mentioned will be more than on the old one ; but if the expence of the dam and repairs be taken into consideration, I am apt to think that, on the whole, even the first cost will not be greater. The expence of fuel to keep the water boiling is an affair of no great consequence in America, especially for a saw mill it is nothing, as the waste of the timber will be more than sufficient ; and in the lower parts of Virginia, where timber is plenty, and no streams, and sawing done by hand, such a scheme must infallibly turn to good account. Ships are frequently coming from Virginia. Pray write me at least one line by every one of them. I am equally in adversity, as in prosperity, ever most affectionately yours,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Simeon Deane.

Thomas Mss.

TO JOHN JAY.

London, May 3d, 1784.

SIR,—You must have perceived by the tenor of my letter of the 21st, of January that I supposed you to be still in London when I wrote it. I can but lament

the "insurmountable obstacle" which you say prevented you from giving me an interview when here.

God forbid that I should wish you to do any thing prejudicial to our country or injurious to your own honor; but one hour's conversation might have done more to convince you that I am neither the enemy of my country and the friend and intimate of General Arnold than a volume of writing could effect. I have no interest to deceive you in respect to General Arnold. On my first arrival in London, twelve months since, he called on me abruptly, and without sending in his name, twice or three times; and, as it happened, company, some of them Americans, were each time with me. The last time, as I waited on him down, I requested him to discontinue his visits, which he did, and it is now more than ten months since I have so much as seen him.

This is simply the truth, and hence you may judge how far you may rely upon the information given you of my principles and conduct since my being in London.

The reason of my not having appealed to the public by a justification of my conduct has been the constant hopes I have entertained of seeing my accompts closed. Their settlement and a balance acknowledged in my favor will, in my opinion, go farther than any assertions or arguments which I can make use of without their being finally adjusted.

Mr. Barclay is now here, and I hope to have it completed soon. I know not how to reply to such general charges as have been brought against me, but by asserting the contrary. I have been charged with having advised Ministers and men in power here to measures unfriendly to American commerce. The truth is, that I have no acquaintance with any of the present or late Ministers or men in power, except Mr. Fox.

I know none of them. I waited once on him whilst in office, but it was after the measures respecting our commerce had been taken. I solicited the interview

for no other purpose but to lay before him a plan for accommodating the affair of our commerce and intercourse with the British West-Indies, and to give him my reasons in support of it. He heard me with much attention, and appeared convinced, so far as to assure me that he would bring forward a bill for that purpose, and that he doubted not but that the intercourse might be opened and the commerce established to mutual satisfaction.

Thus I have acted directly the contrary to what I have been charged with. But how shall I satisfy my prejudiced countrymen of this? It is true that I am in the habits of intimacy and of friendship with Lord Sheffield, but we never meet without a dispute on the subject of his pamphlet—not, indeed, on the facts contained in it, but on his arguments and conclusions from those facts—yet I am charged with being virtually the author of that publication, to which the interruption of our West-India commerce is attributed.

So very desirous are my accusers of laying everything to my charge which can render me unpopular and odious with my countrymen, that they forget that the act of Parliament and the king's proclamation in consequence of it, confining the West-India commerce to British ships are dated and were issued previous to the first publication of that pamphlet. It would be endless to enumerate the absurdities of the charges against me, nor will I trespass further on your patience than to assure you whatever imprudences I have been guilty of in my letters or conversation, I am neither the enemy of my country nor the intimate of General Arnold.

I thank you for your kind wishes for my justification, as I never doubted of your candor and sincerity on all occasions toward me, and am with much respect,
Sir,

Your most Obedt. and very Humble Servt.,

S. DEANE.

Hon. John Jay, Esq.

Jay Mss.

FROM JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

Paris, May 21st, 1784.

DEAR SIR,—I have just received from Nantes a copy of your favour of 8th, inst. I have examined again the account settled with Mr. Reed, Feb. 25th, 1778, and there find six hundred livres paid him by your order, and on your private account, independent of the balance, 1,405 livres, which I settled with the public. You have therefore an undoubted right to the repayment of 600 livres, which was paid by me, as well as for what you advanced directly. Mr. Reed is right in saying I have no claim, because the 600 livres was allowed in your private account with me, and the remaining 1,405 livres in my account with the public; but the sum you paid me should be allowed by the persons who gave the credit on you. I am, with best wishes for your welfare, Dear Sir,

Your Obedt. Servant,

J. WILLIAMS.

P. S.—I suppose this letter will answer all the purposes of a certificate.

Thomas Mss.

THOMAS BARCLAY to ROBERT MORRIS.

Paris, June 8th, 1784.

SIR,—Inclosed I send you Mr. Deane's account with the United States as settled by himself, to which I have added some remarks, none of which seem to be of much consequence. They may, however, be useful in procuring some information and instructions from America concerning several articles mentioned in them. If it should be thought necessary to look into the particulars of Mr. Deane's house expences, they will be found in an account which I forwarded to the

Secretary of Foreign Affairs from Holland, the receipt of which he acknowledged.

Mr. Deane presses much to have his affairs with the United States left to the determination of two indifferent people, but this I cannot agree to without some authority for doing it. If it should be thought unnecessary to add anything to my general instructions respecting this account, I shall proceed to adjust it, and in the mean time will be thankful for any information which can be given me respecting it. I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most Obedient and Most Humb. Sert.,

THOS. BARCLAY.

Hon. Robert Morris.

[Enclosure.]

UNITED STATES IN ACCOUNT WITH SILAS DEANE.

No. 1.	To Money advanced prisoners from Aug., 1776, to March, 1778.....	19,225	7	10
2.	To advanced Mr. Carmichael.....	9,200		
3.	To officers going to America.....	47,899	12	6
4.	To remitted to London by order of the Secret Committee.....	2,905	7	
5.	To paid sundry expresses and hire of carriages	3,107	4	6
6.	To paid Mr. Monthieu by a snuff box, on purchasing the magazine at Nantes.....	1,824		
7.	To linen.....	1,127	17	9
	To china.....	1,075	00	6
	To plate.....	1,880	12	3
		4,803	10	6
8.	To the encyclopedia for Doctor Franklin....	852		
9.	To paid Mr. Chaumont's accounts for sundries.....	2,986	0	6
10.	To paid for four horses.....	3,140	7	
11.	To price of a coach credited Congress by Mr. Grand.....	2,000		
12.	To expences to Toulon with four captains....	8,036	5	
13.	To salary from Nov., 1776, to Jan., 1781, last 6 months settling accounts with Congress, four years and two months.....	51,957	13	
14.	To sundry wrong charges.....	67,332	00	5

15.	To expences of every kind from Jan., 1776, to return to Paris in Aug., 1780, four years and seven months.....	100,947	1	4
16.	To commission on goods purchased by Delaps of Bordeaux, 79,587, 17, 4, @ 5 per cent.	3,979	7	
17.	To ditto of ditto purchased by Mr. Chaumont, 280,799, 6, @ 5 per cent.....	14,039	19	
18.	To ditto of ditto purchased by Mr. de Beau- marchais, 3,736,957, 13, 8, @ 5 per cent..	186,847	16	
19.	To commission on sundries purchased of Mr. Monthieu, including freight of vessels, 659,049, at 5 per cent.....	32,952	9	
20.	To postage of letters.....	624	8	
21.	To short charged in commission on goods purchased by Mr. de Beaumarchais.....	1	1	7
22.	By amount of all the money charged by Mr. Grand and Mr. Solier.....	150,389	7	11
23.	By amount of payments and disbursements made by Messrs. Delaps, account of Mr. Deane.....	6,826	7	10
24.	By ditto by ditto a second account.....	17,930	18	
25.	By so much remitted by Messrs Delaps.....	17,419	7	1
26.	By cash of Mr. de Beaumarchais.....	23,039	17	
27.	By ditto for a horse.....	216		
	Balance.....	348,119	12	4
		563,941	10	2

DETAILED ACCOUNT.

No. 1.—Advanced to Prisoners.

1776.			
Aug. 20.	To cash advanced 3 American sailors for their expences to Nantes, 2 louis each....	144	
Sept. 16.	To ditto Isaac Johnson and I. Bailey, es- caped from prison.....	144	
	To paid lodging and expences for do.....	103	16
Oct. 11.	To cash advanced St. Aulaire, an American officer, taken prisoner in Canada, and made his escape, twice.....	690	
Nov. 10.	To ditto Henry Muller as per rect. [Voucher].....	240	
	12. To ditto for expences of prisoners escaped from prison.....	251	3
	21. To ditto an American sailor escaped from prison.....	36	
Dec. 6.	To ditto, ditto, ditto.....	32	

1777.	
Jan.	16. To ditto Nicholas Davis, as per rect. [Voucher] 720
Feb.	3. To ditto for lodging and expences of Downer, Clark, &c., escaped from prison..... 743 15 6
	10. To ditto Henderson and Price, two sailors, ditto 84
	21. To ditto 3 sailors escaped from prison, 36 each 108
	22. To ditto J. Brown and a sailor with him escaped 72
Mar.	8. To ditto for the expences of a sailor to Nantes 30
	10. To ditto to Josiah Martin and Nathaniel Johnson, escaped 96
	To ditto to J. Turner..... 36
April	1. To ditto to Seth Clark, as per rect. [Voucher] 432
	To ditto for three sailors escaped from prison, their expences at Paris, 59/17, & to carry them to Nantes, 72/ (Feb. 3, 1777) 131 17
	6. To paid Holleville taylor's bill for Capt. Johnson. [Voucher] 508 14 10
	21. To cash advanced Capt. Henry Johnson. [Voucher] 600
May	15. To do. John Hardy, a prisoner escaped.... 48
	23. To do. 4 sailors, escaped from prison, 48 each 192
June	2. To do. Azariah Swanzey and 2 sailors escaped from prison..... 184
	12. To do. I. Brenton, prisoner escaped 54 10
	15. To paid lodging and expences of 3 Americans, do. 193 4
	22. To do. expences for transporting a sick sailor to Havre 73 14
	29. To do. for prisoners' expences..... 21 14
	To do. John Sullivan and James O'Brian, prisoners escaped 96
	To do. for a sick sailor 74 4
	30. To cash advanced Capt. Francis Brown 720
	To ditto Abbott and Dana..... 60
July	1. To paid for expences of Capt. Folger and other Americans at Paris and for their expences to Nantes and Havre 295 16
	5. To cash advanced 2 sailors, to go to Havre. 95
	9. To ditto for bank bills sent to England for the relief of prisoners there 691 2 6

'777.

July	19.	To do. James Cornett and Thomas Baker, American prisoners	96	
	21.	To paid Mathew Gice's order	200	
		Francis Abbott do., a prisoner. [Voucher]	395	10
		Daniel Dana's do., do. [Voucher]	312	
		William Tryon, a prisoner in England ...	228	
	23.	To cash advanced John Hammond, James Anderson, T. Andrews, and J. Baker, prisoners escaped	259	
	31.	To ditto Francis Abbott and Daniel Dana, two prisoners escaped from England, as per rect. [Voucher]	324	
Aug.	4.	To ditto two Americans, escaped from prison, to go to Nantes	120	
	17.	To do. Chandler, an American prisoner...	72	
	20.	To do. for cloaths for American sailors....	135	16
		To do. to Eyries, for the amount he advanced to sundry prisoners, as per their rect.	1,070	18
	27.	To do. James Robinson, as per his bill. [Voucher]	240	
		To do. sundry sailors, American prisoners escaped	262	6
		To do. Samuel Williams, a prisoner as per bill. [Voucher]	504	
Sept.	3.	To do. a prisoner escaped from Eng- land	48	
	20.	To do. Geo. Fleming, an American, as per rect. [Voucher]	480	
		To do. Jos. Hammond, a prisoner, do. [Voucher]	160	
	23.	To do. John Butler and 3 other Americans, escaped from England, to carry them from Havre, 48 livres each	192	
		To do. John Anderson, a prisoner. [Voucher]	160	
	28.	To do. Saml. Chandler, do., as per rect. [Voucher.]	288	
Oct.	1.	To do. Jonathan Turner, an American pris- oner	54	
	6.	To paid for provisions furnished Americans at a Hanseatic Town	226	10
		To Bennet, a sailor, 48/; to a lame sailor, 36/	84	
		To for cloaths, shirts, &c., for said sailors...	52	10
	20.	To cash advanced Nathan Dorsey, a pris- oner in the American service. [Voucher]	192	
		To ditto, 2 sailors, 30 livres each	60	

1777.	
Oct 27.	To cash paid for sundries for 3 Americans escaped, 85/16, and gave them 30 livres each to go to Nantes..... 175 16
	To cash advanced John Floyd, a prisoner belonging to Virginia. [Voucher]..... 240
Nov. 5.	To do. Capt. Welsh at twice 144 & 168 livres..... 312
	6. To do. Thomas Johnson and Arthur McCloud, 2 Am. sailors..... 54
	14. To do. I. Jackson, a prisoner escaped, to go to Nantes..... 48
	1 pair shoes, 4/; 3 pair hose, 12/, & 2 shirts, 15/, for him..... 31
	— 79
	26. To do. David Fogg, the 20th inst., as per rect. [Voucher]..... 266 6
	27. To do. Samuel Cutler and William Morris, prisoners. [Voucher]..... 96
	To paid for the hire of a place in the diligence for a lame sailor to Nantes, 3½ louis..... 84
	To cloaths furnished him..... 26 10
	To cash delivered him for his expences..... 42
	— 152 10
	30. To cash advanced Samuel Cutler, as per rect. [Voucher]..... 192
Dec. 3.	To do. Jonas Harper and Thomas Ward, to transport them to Nantes, 48 livres each.. 96
	11. To do. 2 Americans escaped from England, to pay their expences to Nantes, 54 livres each..... 108
	20. To do. Anthony Knap, an American sailor. [Voucher]..... 240
	26. To cash advanced David Fogg for himself..... 196
	To do. for F. Brown..... 48
	— 244
1778.	
Jan. 5.	To paid for sailors' shirts, 13/; stockings, 12/; 25 cloaths, 37/; cash gave them, 39/..... 76 101
	To paid Capt. Hill to go to Nantes, as per rect, 480 & 120. [Voucher]..... 600
	9. To paid for sundries, necessary cloathing for Americans at Paris..... 67 15

1778.

Jan.	9.	To do. for 3 sailors' lodging, 84/; cash, 288/, and to a fourth, who set out before them for Nantes, 72/.....	444
	12.	To board and lodging for three Virginia officers arrived from England.....	129 13
	13.	To cash advanced Thomas Clark, a bill, & James Montey, going to Nantes, as per rect.....	214 10
	24.	To paid bill of expences for Americans.....	82 13
Feb.	18.	To cash advanced John Smith, an American.	60
	31.	To amount of Mr. Williams's accot. advanced Capt. Fogg.....	720
Mar.	16.	To cash advanced James Barnett, prisoner, the 11th inst. [Voucher].....	120
	23.	To do. 2 Americans escaped from prison, 48 livres each.....	96
Apr.		To do. Henry Johnson, as per rect. [Voucher].....	204 4
Errors excepted..... Livres			19,225 7 10

[Signed]

S. DEANE.

No. 2.—Monies Advanced Mr. Carmichael.

1776.

October.		To cash advanced him on his journey to Berlin.....	720
		To do. received by him at Amsterdam.....	4,217
Nov. 8.		To paid his doctor's bill.....	187
		To Caffinie bill for sundries.....	240
			427

1777.

Feb.	6.	For expences going to Havre and sending out to sea the ship Le Seine, &c.....	1,200
	27.	To his taylor's bill.....	404
June 30.		To cash advanced him.....	288
		To do. for journey to Dunkirk.....	1,200
			1,488
Aug. 30.		To do. advanced him £31, 10 sterling.....	744

Errors excepted..... Livres 9,200

[Signed]

S. DEANE.

No. 3.—Monies Advanced to Officers going out to serve in America, and to Americans in the service of Congress.

1776.

Aug.	21.	To paid Mr. Creery's expences, viz., his lodging, &c., at Paris, going express.....	67	10
	23.	To cash advanced Monsr. De la Plaigne, going to Bordeaux to go out to America, 15 louis.....	360	
		To paid coachmaker for the repairs of the carriage for Mr. Creery.....	46	15
Nov.	1.	To cash advanced Millin de la Brasse, as per rect. [Voucher].....	600	
	30.	To do. Col. Conway, as per rect. [Voucher]	2,400	
Dec.	6.	To do. Deasigny, an officer going out to America, as per rect. [Voucher].....	1,200	
	9.	To do. De Gerard, do., do., do. [Voucher]	480	
	26.	To paid Du Saulsay's draft in favor of I. Genet to Solier. [Voucher].....	480	

1777.

Jan.	27.	To cash advanced Samuel Nicholson, as per rect.....	480	
Mar.	8.	To do. de Veigny, an officer, as per rect. [Voucher].....	240	
Apr.	5.	To do. Samuel Nicholson, on account of J. Hynson. [Voucher]	120	
		To do. for J. Hynson's lodgings, as per his order. [Voucher]	120	
		To do. Samuel Nicholson, as per rect. [Voucher]	1,200	
		To do. Lambert Wickes. [Voucher].....	120	
June	2.	To cash advanced Joseph Hynson, as per rect. [Voucher]	2,178	10
		To do. for do., for his carriage.....	48	
	5.	To do. Count Pulaski, going out to America. [Voucher]	480	
	19.	To do. Holleville, taylor's bill for Captain Hynson. [Voucher]	178	2
	20.	To do. Andrew Lemozin, for cash he advanced to Thomas Conway, Dec. 13, 1776. [Voucher].....	1,440	
		To do., advanced Nathaniel Davis, Junr., Jan. 29, 1777. [Voucher]	808	
			2,248	
	30.	To do. Doctor Bancroft at sundry times....	844	
		To do. Capt. Landais.....	240	
		To do. Capt. Hodge	192	
		To do. Capt. Hynson, 1,020/; paid La Farqui for him, 48/.....	1,068	

1777.	
July 7.	To do. a Polish officer, taken in going out to America and returned to France from England and setting out again. N. B. —Recommended by Count Pulaski..... 240
Sept. 13.	To cash paid, Thomas Bell's order to Geo. Fleming, as per rect. [Voucher]..... 144
20.	To paid for the hire of Capt. Bell's carriage 64
29.	To do, Capt. Hynson, to defray his expences to Havre and to Nantes 276
Oct. 13.	To cash advanced Thomas Bell, going express to Morlaix with public dispatches, Sept. 9, 1777. [Voucher] 480
	To do. received of Mr. Cormick at Morlaix, which was charged to my account. [Voucher]..... 294 5
	774 5
	16. To cash advanced Capt. Bell, Sept. 1, 1777 240
	25. To do. Doctor Bancroft, do. 20..... 120
Nov. 1.	To paid Pritchard's wages on board the cutter..... 72
5.	To cash advanced Capt. Hodge, credited by him to Congress 192
6.	To do., do., going express to Dunkirk, for his expences and hire of the voiture .. 360
	To do., do., at several times on account of his coming express from Congress 720
26.	To paid Simeon Deane's expences to Amsterdam on public business, £66 12s. 6d., sterg. [Voucher] 1,523
Dec. 22.	To cash advanced Simeon Deane, going out to America with dispatches for Congress, 100 louis. [Voucher] 2,400
1778.	
Feb. 1.	To do. Monsr. Brokier, an officer, who going out to America in 1777 was made prisoner 240
10.	To cash advanced Le Blanc, a French officer (see acct. No. 1, fol. 20). [Voucher]... 1,200
24.	To do. Capt. John Nicolson as per rect. [Voucher]... 240
Mar. 2.	To do. Simeon Deane going out with the treaty. [Voucher]..... 2,400
	To paid expences of said Simeon Deane. N. B.—His second setting out with the treaty 496 5 6
	To expence of voiture and repairing..... 113 5

1778.			
Mar.	9.	To cash advanced Capt. Nicolson by La Farqui by my order. [Voucher].....	200
April		To do. Lasterjette.....	150
		To do. Capt. John Nicolson, 200/ do. Capt. All, 144/	344
		To do. to sundry officers, Nov., 1776, viz, Baron de Kalb for self, 9 officers. [Voucher].....	8,800
		To Le Vicomte Mauray for do. do. [Voucher].....	8,800
		To Monsr. Lewis Cassimer de Hatzendorf. [Voucher].....	1,800
		To Monsr. St. Aulaire.....	360
		To Master Rogers.....	240
			20,000
		Errors excepted.....	Livres 47,899 12 6

[Signed]

S. DEANE.

No. 5.—Sundry Expresses.

1776.			
Sept.	20.	To paid expence of an express to Nantes...	275
	22.	To sending to Hanse T, I paid only part of the expence.....	63
1777.			
April	2.	To paid part of an express to Nantes in Jan. last.....	244 10
May	18.	To hire of a voiture to Dunkirk and its detention there.....	125
		To paid expence of transportation of arms, pistols, &c., samples of those bought at Nantes to be examined at Paris, Feb. 11, 1777.....	32 15
July	4.	To paid express to Havre on account of stores there.....	289
Aug.	8.	To do. to St. Maloes on account of privateers there.....	357 10
Sept.	23.	To postage of the samples of several new invented machines in war, 36/10, gave the inventor in low circumstances 48/.	
		N. B.—They were lost in Capt. Wickes..	84 10
Oct.	5.	To sending express to St. Maloes some days past.....	375 14
	31.	To Monsr. Chaumont's account for paying an express.....	276

1778.

July 27.	To paid La Farquez bills of expences on his return from Bordeaux, who went with Mr. Simeon Deane.....	469	5	6
	To do. do. for hire of a cabriolet for Capt. Hodge, the cabriolet detained and damaged.....	300		
Feb. 11.	To pay for the hire of a voiture to Dunkirk.	215		
		<hr/>		
		Livres 3,107	4	6

[Signed]

S. DEANE.

1778. No. 9.—*Monies Advanced to Mons. Chaumont.*

Jan. 29.	To paid sundries, expresses.....	480		
Feb. 10.	To expences on transportation and embarkation of the monument for General Montgomery.....	598	5	6
Mar. 26.	To bill for keeping horses, sending express, &c., for a cabriolet or carriage, as per accot.....	1,539	7	
April.	To for so much paid him on acct. of expences to Toulon.....	331	18	
	To paid postage by him.....	36	10	
		<hr/>		
		Livres 2,986	0	6

[Signed]

SILAS DEANE.

No. 12.—*Expences to Toulon.*

1778.

April.	To paid at Orleans.....	42	14	
	To do. at Bryan.....	31	15	
	To do. at Lyons, where we rested one night and day.....	196	10	
	To do. at Avignon.....	113	14	
	To do. at Aix, where we lodged two nights, and expences sending to Marseilles for instructions... ..	351	4	
	To do. at Marseilles.....	126	13	
	To do. at the Seine, where we embarked to the Avant Courier, returning.....	120		
	To do. lodging, diet, and necessaries.....	216	10	
	To do. fruit, wine, &c.....	159	12	
		<hr/>		
		1,358	12	

1778.		
April.	To do. for sundries, necessities for journey for self and 4 American captains, March 29.	159 10
	To do. for 16 post horses, hire of two coaches and one baggage waggon, &c., as per bill.....	5,678 3
	To cash paid the maitre d'hotel and other servants on board the Languedoc, for self and the American captains with me.....	840
	Errors excepted.....	Livres 8,036 5

[Signed]

SILAS DEANE.

REMARKS BY THOMAS BARCLAY.

No. 1. Money advanced American prisoners....Livres 19,225 7 10

I have examined this account, and marked
in the margin of it the sums for which
vouchers have been produced; the others
remain supported by Mr. Deane's declara-
tion that he paid every sum contained in it.
As he had duplicates of some of the
vouchers, he delivered me the following,
which lye in my hands until called for.

Capt. Samuel Williams of Philadelphia, his bill on John Willcox, Harmon and Lewis, Nicholas Low & Co., dated Aug. 27, 1777, favor Silas Deane, for money paid by the Commissioners.....	Sterling.	21
James Robinson on Ogiers & Lushington, Charlestown, South Carolina, Aug. 27, Sterling.		10 10
Nathan Dorsey, of Philadelphia, receipt for eight guineas, Oct. 21, 1777....	Sterling.	8 8
Seth Clark, Massachusetts, receipt April, 1777, served with Capt. Nicholson. Sterling,		18 18
John Floyd, Virginia, receipt Oct., 1777, 10 louis d'ors, Francis Abbott and David Dana, Massachusetts, receipt July 31, 1777.....	Livres	324
Francis Brown, supposed from do., July 19, 1777.....		720
Samuel Chandler, Worcester Co., Massa- chusetts, Promissory note.....		288
John Hammond's note, Sept. 20, 1777		160

Samuel Cutler, Boston, note, Nov. 30, 1777,	
Livres	192
David Fogg, note, Nov. 20, 1777	266
Benjamin Hill, note, Jan. 4, 1778	120

Mr. Deane is possessed of notes and receipts for the other sums marked in this account, but as there are no duplicates of them, he thought it best to keep them himself; at the same time saying they were ready to be delivered when it would be thought necessary to send them to America.

- No. 2. Money advanced Mr. Carmichael, Livres 9,200
 Mr. Carmichael says he accounted for the whole of this money already.

For the part advanced on public account, by his services and journeys, and that he settled that account with Mr. Deane and Doctor Franklin to the satisfaction of both. The other sums which were paid by Mr. Deane on Mr. Carmichael's private account, he says, were adjusted between Mr. Deane and him some years ago.

- No. 3. Money advanced officers going to America, Livres 47,899 12 6
 I have marked in the margin of this account all the vouchers that I have seen. The remaining sums rest upon Mr. Deane's authority.

- No. 4. Cash remitted to London by order of the Secret Committee, and for the service of the United States..... Livres 2,905 7
 There are no vouchers in support of this article, which is said to be for secret services; and perhaps in that case a voucher could not be procured.

- No. 5. Sundry expresses and hire of carriages... Livres 3,107 4 6
 No vouchers appear for any part of this account.

- No. 6. A snuff box and portrait for Mr. Monthieu. Livres 1,824
 This being a present on account of advantages which Mr. Deane says he procured in the purchase of the arsenal at Nantes, was probably well disposed of, tho' the circum-

stances would not admit of a voucher being taken from Mr. Monthieu. No voucher for this article.

No 7. Linen, china, and plate Livres 4,083 10 6

Doctor Franklin says he received these articles, and that they remain with him in use as the property of the United States.

No. 8. The encyclopedia for Doctor Franklin . . Livres 852

This article intirely rejected, being a private transaction between Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane, and ought to be settled by themselves.

No. 9. Paid Mr. Chaumont's account for sundries, Livres 2,986 0 6

This account has been compared with Mr. Chaumont's books, and it agrees therewith, except in the article of 480, charged for expresses, which sum was paid for an express on Mr. Deane's private business, and is brought into this account evidently by mistake.

No. 10. Paid for 4 horses Livres 3,140 7

Mr. Deane says he left 3 of these horses with Mr Chaumont for sale. Mr. Chaumont says he paid Mr. Deane twenty guineas for one of them and knows nothing about the others. How far this disagreement in matter of fact will operate against the charge remains for consideration.

No. 11. Price of a coach placed to the credit of the United States by Mr. Grand Livres 2,000

This is a wrong charge, as Mr. Deane had placed 3,596 to the debit of the United States for this coach, in April, 1778, and it forms a part of his general expences.

No. 12. Expences to Toulon with 4 captains . . Livres 8,036 5

Mr. Deane travelled to Toulon with Capt. Johnston, Capt. Henry Johnston, Capt. Isaac All, and Capt. John Nicholson; and exhibits this as an account of their expences. They went to America with Count d'Estaing. The account is without vouchers.

- No. 13. Salary from Nov., 1776, to Jan., 1781, 4 years and 2 months.....Livres 51,957 13

Mr. Deane accounts for this charge as follows :

- | | | | |
|---|--------|---|---|
| 1st. 1 year and 7 months' salary, @ 11,428 pr. annum..... | 18,094 | 6 | 8 |
| 2d. From June 4, 1778, to July 4, 1780, for himself, secretary, &c., in America. attending the settlement of his accounts 2 years and 1 month, at 10,000 per annum..... | 20,863 | 6 | 4 |
| 3d. 6 months after his return to France settling the public accounts | 13,000 | | |

51,957 13

1st. Charge. Mr. Deane's commission to treat with the Court of France is dated in Congress 30th Sept., 1776, and from several circumstances he thinks he received it about the 1st Dec. following. His recall is dated Dec. 8, 1777, which he says he received the 4th March, 1778. Therefore adding 3 months' salary, allowed by a resolve of Congress, dated Aug. 6, 1779, to enable the Commissioners recalled to return to their families respectively, the time that ought to be charged is from Dec. 1, 1776, to June 4, 1778, 1 year 6 months and 3 days.

2d and 3d Charge. The above mentioned resolution of Congress, dated Aug. 6, 1779, declares that it is resolved that "the Board of Treasury be directed to report for Mr. Deane a reasonable allowance for his time and expences from the expiration of three months after the notice of his recall to the date of the resolution ; and it was then also resolved that "the Hon. Silas Deane, Esq., late one of the Commissioners at the Court of Versailles, and Political and Commercial Agent, be discharged from any further attendance on Congress."

I do not know whether a report was ever made by the Board of Treasury in consequence of this resolution ; and I think it

would be necessary to have some information and instructions on this head.

No. 14. Sundry wrong charges.....Livres 67,332 00 5

Mr. Deane makes this charge because in his account with the United States he gives credit for sundry sums which he received of Mr. Grand and Mr. Solier, amounting to
Livres 150,389, 7, 11

But of this sum he says there ought to have been deducted as follows :

A bill from Havre for disbursement on the Dolphin..... 9,706 16 5
2 bills of Mr. Williams on him for public use. 3,000
From which deduct an error made by Mr. Deane's secretary.... 27

2,973

An order, favor Mr. Franklin for house expenses..... 4,000
An order for Mr. Deane's servant for the same purpose..... 2,400
Money he received of Mr. Solier on account of Robert Morris, Esq., but which Solier charged paid to the United States.... 48,252 4

67,332 0 5

According to this arrangement, there remains placed to the credit of the United States 83,057, 7, 6. But the amount of the payments made to Mr. Deane by Mr. Grand for public account is..... 67,224 7 6

And from Solier, exclusive of the above mentioned sum of 48,252, 4..... 13,804

Therefore, the sum he credits the United States for ought to be no more than.....Livres 81,028 7 6

I believe this mistake was principally owing to an intention of Mr. Deane's to rectify the one he made in charging 2,000 livres for the proceeds of the coach.

- No. 15. Expenses of every kind from Jan., 1776, to return to Paris in Aug., 1780, 4 years and 7 months Livres 100,947 1 4

With respect to this article, it will be very necessary either to examine minutely the particulars of Mr. Deane's account of expences to ascertain whether they are all necessary and proper, or to fix on a certain sum as a reasonable allowance for expences. The time during which such an allowance ought to be admitted is also a proper object of consideration. And if any report has ever been made, as directed by the resolution of Congress already referred to, it may be proper to examine it.

- Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19. Commissions on goods purchased by Messrs. Delaps of Bordeaux, Mr. Chaumont, Mr. de Beaumarchais, and of Mr. Monthieu.

These are very important articles, and at present it does not seem necessary to give any opinion about them. Mr. Deane wishes to leave the final settlement of his account to two or three indifferent persons. If that mode is approved of I will superintend the arbitration. But if it is not, and I receive no instructions to the contrary, I will proceed to settle it in the best manner I am able, and make a report to the Superintendent of Finance, subject to the revision of Congress, or of any persons authorised by them. In the mean time, I furnish these remarks in hopes that they will procure me all the light and instructions that may be thought necessary from America.

- Nos. 20, 21. Postage of letters and short charge in commission, two articles not worth adverting upon at present.

- No. 22. Amount of all the money charged by Mr. Grand and Mr. Solier, 150,389, 7, 11.

There will be no difficulty in arranging this part of the account if it can be determined that Mr. Solier paid 48,252, 4, of the money on Mr. Morris's account, which seems pretty clear. I have seen the authority from

Mr. Thomas Morris to Mr. Deane to take up the proceeds of some effects shipped by Mr. Morris, which Mr. Deane says he did in this sum from Solier, by virtue of a credit given on him from Pleirn & Penet of Nantes, who charged it in their accounts with Mr. Morris.

If any further explanation is necessary, it can come only from Mr. Morris, Solier being dead.

No. 23, &c. It is unnecessary to make any remarks on the following articles until a settlement of Mr. Deane's accounts come to be finally made, when it will be proper to see that they agree with the charges made by Messrs. Delaps and Mr. de Beaumarchais.

THOS. BARCLAY.

Paris, June 8th, 1784.

Mss. State Department.

FROM THOMAS BARCLAY.

Paris, June 9th, 1784.

SIR,—Since my return from England I have been so much engaged that it was absolutely out of my power to furnish your account current with the United States until very lately, when I prepared several copies of it, with remarks, and sent them by various conveyances, under cover, to the Superintendent of Finance. I now inclose you copy of those remarks, with that of the letter which accompanied them; they may be useful to you in preparing you on some subjects that will come under notice when your accounts are taken into consideration. In examining the sums of money paid you by Mr. Grand, I find you have placed 2,400 livres to your own account, which were paid by virtue of an order signed by Doctor Franklin and yourself, dated 21st December, 1777, favor of La Farque, with directions to place it to account of Messrs. Franklin, Deane, and Lee. I mention this, as I suppose your charging yourself with it was a mistake. Inclosed I send you a

letter from Mr. Carmichael in answer to the questions I asked him about the monies which you charged as paid to him. You will perhaps be able to clear up the difference in this affair, as well as with Mr. Chaumont relative to the horses. That gentleman persists in a desire to charge the United States with the expence of transporting General Montgomery's monument. I have in vain told him that you had already passed it to their debit, and that I will not admit such a charge.

It will be right to clear away as much rubbish as possible previous to a settlement being made.

I am Sir, Your most Obt. Servt.,

THOS. BARCLAY.

It was not in my power to sell the encyclopedia.
Mr. Silas Deane.

Thomas Mss.

TO WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

London, June 30th, 1784.

SIR,—I received yours a few days since of the 22d ulto, inclosed in a letter from Mr. Barclay of the 18th inst, and I now forward this, as you directed, under cover and unsealed to that gentleman. Through my not having at this time access to my books and papers may occasioned my being less correct than I wish to be as to dates, yet I cannot on that account delay writing, and endeavoring to set you, as well as Mr. Barclay, right on the subject of yours.

I am confident that Mr. Barclay will do me the justice to say that when I gave him my accompt with Congress, and explanation of the general charges, I was far from representing you to be a debtor for the sums charged as paid to you on the public accompt. That so far was I from this that I told him that I doubt not that you had expended the full amount, and probably more; and I doubt not but you will agree that the sum advanced by me to you for your

journeys to Amsterdam and Berlin, Havre-de-Grace, Dunkirque, etc., on the business of the public ought by me to be charged to the public.

In recollecting all that passed between us from our first acquaintance, you must find that we never had any private account or transactions of money matters further than my paying for you, or you for me, a trifle one day, and receiving it perhaps the next, or an hour after, except the money I paid your physician, surgeon, and for your lodging at the hotel de Grand Villars, by your request, when you was on your journey to Berlin ; and considering you as then entered into the service of the public, I regarded those advances, as also the subsequent ones, as charged to you in a public character, or at least in public employ.


You took lodging with me in the above hotel sometime in July or the last of June. In October following you accepted of a commission from me, to go to Amsterdam, and thence to Berlin, on the business of the public. During your absence I received the bills above mentioned. On your return you found me at the Hotel d'Enragues, where I had taken lodgings to accommodate both of us. Doctor Franklin arrived in Paris the day after your return, and took lodgings in the same hotel, from whence, in a few days, we all removed to the Hotel d'Hambourg. Soon after your return you gave me a verbal account of your proceedings, and some little time afterwards you gave Doctor Franklin and myself a written narrative of the whole, in which, I remember, you express yourself at the close of it to this purpose : that if it should be thought that you had done no service to the public, you would willingly in that case take the expense on yourself, and at a proper time refund the money advanced to you ; but the doctor joined with me in thinking that you had been of service and in approving of your conduct.

The Doctor kept that narrative or journal of yours, and I have not seen it since. In that you mention

generally your expences ; but by no means in the form of an account, or if it had been such, or if you esteem it as such you can by no construction term it a private account or an account settled. The other sums advanced you for your journies and expences to Havre-de-Grace, Dunkirque, etc., were of the same public nature and for the public service.

Of the detail of the expenditures, of which I never received any account, you must remember that when you wrote to me in the month of November, 1777, for 30 louis d'or (you then lodged at the Hotel Vauban), you told me you was then preparing the account of the expenditures of the public monies received by you for a settlement, and soon after, when you had come to a resolution to go out to America, you again wrote to me to the same purpose. You well know that at that busy and important period I had too much business of greater importance to attend to one of so much less, and which did not appear to be any way urgent. You may also remember that you left Paris for Nantes to embark for America suddenly, and with but a few hours' notice, and my leaving France in April following was almost as sudden and unexpected. Before my setting out we had the news of your being appointed Secretary to the Commissioners at Paris. Of course I did not expect to find you in America on my arrival, and therefore did not take with me an account of the monies received by you ; but as I then flattered myself that I should in a few months return to Paris, and depending upon then finding you there, I expected that would be the time to settle that and every other account in which I had any concern. But I was disappointed.

This is a brief history of all that is necessary to be known or referred to on the subject. I have met with too many extraordinary things in the last five or seven years in my life to be surprized at almost anything, or I should be greatly so at your saying in your letter that you were often in advance for me, and that we



many years since settled your accompt. I am not afraid to put the whole sum in question on those assertions; and if even you was forty shillings in advance for me on occasion, or at any time; or if even we settled any accompts between us; or, indeed, if even we had any transactions in business farther than I have mentioned above, I will engage to forfeit the whole from the time of your return from Berlin to that of our parting and your removal to the Hotel de Vauban and of mine to Passy.

You were the keeper of what cash I had by me. This you must recollect. This is well known to Doctor Bancroft, and now I have the proof of it under your own hand, in the minutes made by you of the disbursement of it; and among others you set 1,200 livres to Mr. Carmichael going to Dunkirque.

When money was received from the banker, you or Doctor Bancroft—but you most generally—entered it, and minuted it below the payments of it, and more than once you have entered money paid to me out of those sums for my pocket expenses; yet in your letter, first communicated to Mr. Barclay, and then sent to me, you bid me *recollect that you was frequently in advance for the personal expences*, and thus unjustly, as it is ungenerous, endeavor to impress Mr. Barclay, and thro' him the public in America, with an idea that I have charged the public with the monies paid you on a private accompt of what I owed you.

I do recollect, indeed, that you charged the public nothing for your time, and you cannot forget that I did you justice on that account in the letters which you refer to, and which I wrote and presented to Doctor Franklin, who with me signed it, and I sent it after you to Nantes. Nor can you forget that I did this at a time when you were actually speaking ill of me at Nantes, and just after I had from the public papers from America discovered an attempt of yours to rob me of any merit in the service of my country, and to appropriate my exertions and services to yourself.

This is a disagreeable subject, and is one of the many which I wish to forget ; but you have forced me to touch on it by your attempting in your letter to wound me afresh. What I have said will, I trust, remove any unfavorable impressions which your representations may have made on Mr. Barclay's mind, and as our correspondence has for some time since been closed on other subjects, it need to be but very short on this.

You do not dispute the receipt of money ; and notwithstanding your insinuations that part of it was on my private accompt, yet in the course of your letter you agree that you received it on accompt of your expences whilst in the service of the public here. Then we are agreed, and there is an end of this affair between you and me. I wrote to Congress in 1778 that you had received no consideration for your time in the public service, because I then believed that the monies advanced you were not more than equal to your expences ; and on the same grounds I said the same thing to Mr. Barclay, and I owe it to truth, notwithstanding what has passed, to repeat the same at this time. But the settlement of the accompt of your expenditure can alone decide if my opinion is well founded.

Mean time I remain, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Carmichael.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

ROBERT MORRIS TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Office of Finance, Sept. 30th, 1784.

SIR,—I do myself the honor to enclose to your Excellency the second copy of a letter of the eighth of June from Thomas Barclay, Esquire, with the accounts therein referred to.* Should any observations thereon occur to Congress, they will, of course, be made, and

* The enclosures are printed under date of June 8, 1874.

if instructions be necessary, Congress alone are competent to the framing of them.

With perfect respect, I have the honor to be, Sir,
your Excellency's most obedient & humble servant,
ROBERT MORRIS.

His Excellency the President of Congress.

Mss. Department of State.

TO BARNABAS DEANE.

London, Dec. 14th, 1784.

DEAR BROTHER,—I am without any favor from you for several months since, although I have wrote in that time several letters. This goes inclosed to Col. Wadsworth, and I send with it a general power of attorney, revoking all former powers. I know not how far you may be able or have leisure to serve me in the actual posture of my affairs, of which I really know but little. My proposal to Mr. Webb is the same as ever, to apply jointly to the General Assembly for Commissioners to settle every thing between him and me and his family in equity. To this I think that he can have no reasonable objection. The favorable light in which Mr. Barclay appeared to view my accompts when he examined them gave me hopes of an equitable settlement as soon as Congress should give him powers to make it; and these hopes, though daily growing weaker, have prevented my making any preparation for my return, or indeed for a settlement of my affairs in my absence. The most, indeed, that I can hope for, if Mr. Webb agree to this, is to put the matter into a train and course for settlement. I shall go into the country in a few days, and design to pass the winter there, in the neighborhood of some of the principal manufactories, especially of iron, in this kingdom. Discoveries and improvements of vast importance have lately been made, and are making, in the manufacture

of iron. I am already generally acquainted with them, and may as well pass the winter in making myself perfect in them as to remain worse than idle in London, and at a greater expence than in the country. I have, with the most rigid œconomy, been able hitherto to keep myself decently above absolute want and out of debt; but without some assistance I cannot do this much longer. Col. Wadsworth made no offer of assistance, and knowing that you had wrote to him on the subject, I did not apply to him, as I could not reconcile myself to suffer the mortification of a refusal. Whar-ton and Trent have repeatedly promised to sell the land, for which I have a mortgage assigned over to me, and I must intreat you to give some attention to that affair; also to that of Mr. Wilson, of which I lately wrote you; and, at all events, to make me a remittance of two hundred pounds as early as possible. This will support me until I can know if I am ever to expect any thing from Congress or not, and until I can come to some determination what course I shall pursue. I have no opinion of any kind of commerce in the United States for sometime to come; and it is perhaps fortunate for you that you did not, on the peace, engage in the importation of dry goods. At the most moderate computation, three years' produce of the United States will not be sufficient to pay for the goods already sent out. Full four fifths of all the bills remitted since the peace have been protested and returned. Tobacco, rice, indigo, and potash are much dearer with you than in any part of Europe; and fish and oil will not answer, by reason of the enormous duties; and the present restrictions on our commerce with the British West Indies will unquestionably be continued. Under these unfavorable circumstances for remittance, those merchants who have shipped out large quantities of goods since the peace find themselves extremely embarrassed. Some have failed, and more are in danger; and such an unfavorable opinion prevails of American faith and punctuality that it is become prejudicial to the credit

of our countrymen in general, and in no small degree so to those here who are known to have large sums in their hands. Your distillery, if you can keep a sufficient stock of molasses on hand, must give a certain profit, and any business which will do that is preferable to an uncertainty, however tempting first appearances may be. I have received but one letter from my son since he left me. Pray let me know his situation and the state of his health. I am very apprehensive least his misfortunes, and his reflecting on mine, may throw him into a low, desponding state of mind, but must rely on your protection and encouragement of him to prevent it. My compliments to Capt. Buck and our sister, and to all friends, particularly to Col. Wylls.

I am, most affectionately, my Dear Brother,

Yours,

S. DEANE.

P. S.—Should there be any question relative to the power, you have great numbers who can attest to my hand writing. I have not made it out in the usual formality here, as I wish to avoid all unnecessary expence.

Mr. B. Deane.

Thomas Mss.

REFUTATION OF THE CALUMNY OF HENRY LAURENS.

Imperfect draft of a paper written by Silas Deane in 1784.

[First part of the manuscript missing] I still flattered myself that my accompts with Congress, stated in that address, might be previously settled, but I have found it necessary in my own vindication to anticipate that wished for period, and this necessity arises from the calumnious reports industriously propagated—I may also say fabricated—by Mr. Laurens, respecting

my character whilst a private citizen, and my conduct whilst in a public and important station. In December, 1783, I set out from London on a tour through the manufacturing towns in this kingdom, in search of amusement which might help to dissipate the gloominess of the season and of my situation, and of information and knowledge which might one day be of solid use to me, and perhaps to my country. In the course of my tour I passed some days at Birmingham, which may with great justice be said to be one of the first seminaries for useful arts at this day in the world. Few travellers visit this industrious town, or converse or correspond with its ingenious inhabitants, but with the view of gain in the way of trade, by purchasing their manufactures; but my situation, had I been ever so much inclined that way, precluded me from any such prospect; therefore, whilst my fellow traveller employed himself in examining the quality and price of the manufactures, and in making out large orders for such of them as would yield him the largest profit, I attended solely to the ingenious application of the mechanical powers, and the judicious division and arrangement of labor, by the combination of which they were brought to so great a perfection, and afforded at low a price. My reception by gentlemen in trade, heads of capital manufactories, and others to whom I was so happy as to be introduced, was equal to anything I could have wished or hoped for, and made the deeper and more ineffaceable impression on my mind from the reflection that the politeness and civility which I met with was free from the alloy of any one particle of interest in its composition. I little thought or expected in this agreeable and instructive tour to meet with that gloomy and venomous adder, from the effects of whose venom I had already suffered so much in America, still by my path-side, and ready to strike again his invenomed fangs into my side, but so it happened; for on the evening before I left Birmingham in company with Doctor Priestley and

Mr. W. Wilkinson, on a visit to Mr. J. Wilkinson at Brosely, Mr. Laurens arrived, and on the next day passed us on the road. Apprehensive, that from the favorable reception which I had met with in general, that I might derive some advantage, and from being known to be at least on the footing of a friendly acquaintance with so great and good a character as that of Doctor Priestley, I might acquire still more respect, all the malignant passions of his dark soul were roused, if (what I really doubt) they ever sleep in their gloomy mansion, and on his return to Birmingham took advantage of the intimacy which subsisted between him and Mr. Russel, the intimate friend of Doctor Priestley, to represent me as one of the worst of men ; one of such a character that it was almost infamous to be known to be acquainted with and in the habits of intimacy ; and this he did not so much on account of his friend Mr. Russel, to whom I had not then the honor of being personally known, as on account of Mr. Russel's friends, among whom Doctor Priestley was one of the first. I was unsuspecting of any such dark manœuvre, and thinking that his malice had long since spent itself, and that his vindictive spirit, appeased by the injuries already done me, was resting in peace, as to me, although it might be in pursuit of other objects, I thought no more of him or of the injuries he had done me during the fortnight's agreeable and instructive tour which I made with this great philosopher and most entertaining companion in a visit to his friends at Brosely and in its neighborhood, and in viewing the vast improvements made and making by them in that most important of manufactures, iron. Doctor Priestley was not ignorant of the reports which had been propagated to my disadvantage, but they had not made that impression on his liberal mind as to make him think me an unworthy *compagnon de voyage* ; and our lodging in the same house, and travelling in the same carriage during this short tour, fortunately gave me an opportunity of

removing an unfavorable impression, if any had been made; and by the time of our return to Birmingham, this accidental acquaintance was in this short term more matured towards an intimate one, and even friendship, than any one formal introduction (out of thousands) of one man to the acquaintance of another usually is in years. Within two or three days after our return, he gave the strongest proof of his friendship for me by informing me that Mr. Laurens had represented me in such a light to his friend Mr. Russel, that he expressed some surprize that any gentleman who knew my character would even admit of my acquaintance. The Doctor hinted generally the nature of the information given Mr. Russel, and added that although he was perfectly satisfied as to my character, yet thought not only for my interest, but that it was a duty which I owed not only to myself, but to those who thought me innocent of the charges propagated against me, to publish the state of my case. Being obliged to go out of town that evening for London, I could not wait on Mr. Russel, as I wished to have done, to learn the particulars; but as soon as my address was published I sent several copies to Doctor Priestley, and others of my acquaintance in Birmingham. The Doctor returned me a very polite letter, in which he said that although he had before no doubt in his own mind, yet he was not the less obliged to me for my publication, as he was confident it must convince every one who read it of the injurious manner in which I had been treated. The next time I was at Birmingham he told me that he had had many disputes with his friends on my account, and that Mr. Russel still remained unconvinced, as Mr. Laurens had been so very particular and positive in his charges; and at his parting for America, when he (Mr. Russel) asked him what he must think of my address, Mr. Laurens replied, "Be assured it will very soon be answered, for I have given Major Cartwright the necessary information, and he will undertake it." The

Doctor then gave me the particulars of what Mr. Laurens had charged me with. Mr. Russel not being in town, I could not at that time have them confirmed by himself personally, and hoping that Mr. Laurens's substitute would come forward with some attempt, at least, to answer my address, in which I had no doubt he would repeat for truth all that Mr. Laurens had said to Mr. Russel and others respecting me. I prayed the Doctor, as he was acquainted with Major Cartwright, that he would present my compliments to him, and to tell him that I was impatient to see his promised answer; and there the matter rested until the 9th, of April last, when, being again at Birmingham, the Doctor introduced me to Mr. Russel, who freely and explicitly confirmed every particular given me by the Doctor, and added many others of less importance, and that at the time Mr. Laurens declared that he was not actuated by the least ill will or prejudice, for that he never had the least personal dispute or misunderstanding with me. (On this I need only observe that this is the low and vile art which every slanderer makes of to sharpen the sting of calumny, and to strike its baleful poison the deeper.) The charges brought by Mr. Laurens were briefly as follows: *First*. That previous to my entering into public service I was low in circumstances, even to poverty, and held in no estimation by my fellow citizens. *Secondly*. That notwithstanding these indigent circumstances in which I left America, soon after my arrival in France I sent out two ships with valuable cargoes of goods on my own account, whence it might easily be inferred how I must have acquired the means for such a purchase. *Thirdly*. That while I was in France as one of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary for Congress my conduct was corrupt and treacherous, one instance of which was that important dispatches from the Commissioners to Congress, and their letters to their friends, which I took the charge of sending out by Capt. Folger, were by me

intercepted, and blank paper substituted, and sent out by him. *Fourthly*, that on my return, after my recall, I made use of every artifice to avoid being called to an account, and, among others, that I procured myself to be reelected a Member of Congress. Every one must agree that a man guilty of such crimes, or of that contained in the third, ought to be cut off from civil society and to suffer capital punishment. Yet consistent as Mr. Laurens has been in persevering in his calumny against me, and as he is well known to be in all his malevolent purposes, yet in the course of his conversation with Mr. Russel he lost himself so far as to say that the temper and prejudices of the times in America were so greatly moderated and cooling, that he did not doubt but that the time would soon come when I should be able to justify myself to the full satisfaction of my fellow citizens. This unguarded expression, so inconsistent with all he had said before relative to me Mr. Russel acknowledges struck him forcibly at the time, as I think it must every one. I shall endeavor, as briefly as the subject will permit, to prove from well known facts and circumstances and from public records and public letters, that the above assertions are in all and every part of them void of any foundation in truth, and then leave the public to make their comments and reflections on them, and to fix the character of their author.

But it is previously necessary to take a brief review of the state and temper of the times, and of the principal events which happened in the American war, and negotiations, more particularly from April, 1776, when I left America, commissioned by Congress to solicit aid and supplies in Europe, but more immediately in France to November, 1779, when I left Philadelphia on my second voyage to France, in a private character, and of my situation and conduct during that period. When the resolution was taken to apply for foreign assistance, which was early in 1776, America had not suffered materially by the hostilities which had com-

menced in April, 1775. The whole amounted to the possession of the town of Boston by the British army and some destruction of property and loss of lives in its vicinity. It was not then known or generally apprehended that the British government would refuse to listen to any terms of accommodation short of absolute submission, but pursue the war to the utmost. Hence very few at that time had turned their thoughts on future independancy, and hence, in addition to my other embarrassments at that time, which I have mentioned in my address, my situation was on another account, such as I believe no man now living in Europe or America, and but few in any nation or age of the world, ever found themselves in. I acknowledged myself to be a subject of the crown of Great Britain. Congress and my countrymen at large did the same; yet I received a commission from them to apply to the court of an absolute monarch, at peace and in amity with the king of Great Britain, our acknowledged sovereign, for aid to fight against him. I was not authorized even to hint that we aimed at independancy, or that there was the least probability that it would be the issue of the contest. If I had ventured to have done this, I must have taken the consequences on myself, for to the time of my receiving my commission and final instructions nothing relative to future independancy had been said in Congress, and I believe very little without doors, except by those who were against the measures of that time, and who to throw a stigma on Congress charged them with aiming at a final separation from the British empire, which Congress and their constituents on all occasions, public or private, disavowed in the strongest terms. I could not therefore solicit for the aid which I was commissioned to procure from the court of Versailles on the ground of our having declared ourselves independant and free from all allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, or on that of our intentions to do so. This would have been going in the face of a well

known fact, and in direct contradiction of the most solemn and explicit declaration of Congress. All my applications, therefore, when stripped of every coloring and gloss, which I was able or authorised to give them, amounted simply to this : No subjects ought to be taxed, or to be governed by laws, to which they have not by themselves or their representatives given their consent ; the King and Parliament of Great Britain have, in violation of this natural and unalienable right of subjects, attempted to tax and govern us without our consent ; in opposition to this we have, as all subjects have a right to do, taken up arms, and we pray your assistance in the contest, to enable us to bring the King and Parliament of Great Britain to recede from these their unwarrantable claims, and to accede to reasonable terms of accommodation. Though the memoires and petitions which I presented to the Minister were by no means in this stile, yet that great and experienced statesman was at no loss how to construe them, nor what part to act on the occasion, singular and unprecedented as it was. In October I received advice that Congress had on the Fourth of July declared the thirteen heretofore colonies United, Independant, and Sovereign States, and at the same time orders to announce this to the court of France and to the foreign Ministers at Versailles ; but the London gazettes which announced, nearly at the same time, our defeat on Long Island, the capture of New York and of all the posts in its neighborhood, and the precipitate retreat of General Washington through the Jersies and over the Delaware, and the flight of Congress from Philadelphia to Baltimore, and the probability of the former being in possession of the enemy in the course of the winter, infinitely outweighed the intelligence that I gave of the Declaration of Independance ; and our cause, notwithstanding our resolution to act decidedly, was regarded by the Court as being desperate. The brilliant action of General Washington at Trenton, and the return of

Congress to Philadelphia, made it appear less so, and if not very promising, at least worthy of some secret encouragement. But the campaign of 1777 was on every side extremely unfortunate on the part of the United States until toward the close of it, when the defeat of General Burgoyne and the surrender of his army checked the progress of the British arms, and in a great degree suspended that despondence and apprehension then universally prevailing; and that event, combined with other causes, of infinitely less importance in themselves, induced the court of Versailles to conclude the treaties so long solicited for by us, and to take a decided part in our favor. But previous to this, when intelligence arrived in France that General Burgoyne was advancing on our frontiers, and that he met with little resistance; that the town and harbor of Newport were in possession of the British forces; that General Washington had been defeated in the battle of Brandywine; and that General Howe was on his march to take possession of Philadelphia, from which Congress had retired in the greatest confusion, the court viewed our cause as absolutely desperate, and withdrew even the appearance of what little countenance they had hitherto shewn us, and gave, on the other hand, the most unequivocal proofs of their resolution to disavow and leave us to our fate. At this period those dispatches which I am charged by Mr. Laurens with having intercepted, were by the Commissioners sent off for Congress, with many letters to our private friends, announcing in plain terms our situation; but I shall be particular on this when I come to the third charge brought by him against me. When Congress left Philadelphia many of the members retired to their respective States, and the President and a small number of them, leaving General Washington and his army between them and the enemy, passed the river Susquehannah and assembled at York Town in Pennsylvania. It was with difficulty that so many of the

members could be assembled as to make even the appearance of a Congress, there being often not more than thirteen or fourteen of them present at a time. In this Congress, thus situated, a resolution was passed for my recall (as the vote expresses), to give Congress information of the state of affairs in Europe. Previous to my receiving this resolution, the treaties with the court of Versailles had been signed, and duplicates of them sent off for America. Their arrival instantly changed the face of affairs. The British forces soon after evacuated Philadelphia, and on my arrival (the 13th, of July, 1778) I found a full Congress in their old seats, and in exultation and triumph on account of their late success and prosperous appearance of their affairs, and in the most sanguine expectation of the future. It is easy to conceive that so sudden a transition! as they had experienced from a state of the deepest distress, and without ally, friend, or resources within themselves, or credit to procure them from abroad, and driven to seek shelter and personal safety wherever they could find even a probability of it, to that of being restored in triumph to their capital, of becoming the allies and friends of a great monarch, a strong fleet sent by him to their aid, and his ambassador to pay them the honors due to Sovereign Independent States, must produce a most sensible effect on any assembly of men whatever, and on every individual in it. The great object of the contest was supposed to be fully obtained, and the war in a way of being soon terminated, and that in one or two campaigns at most. Great Britain must submit to such terms as France and America should dictate. The capture of all her foreign possessions, and a reduction of her power and credit so low as to prevent her ever again becoming formidable, either in Europe or America, was confidently expected. This was the state of affairs and temper of the times at that period, when the season (as I may say) was a favorable one for faction and cabal to make their appearance, if any seeds of them had been already

planted, or if any existed in the bosoms of individuals. I well knew, indeed, that they had been sown, and with a liberal hand, previous to my leaving America, for I saw and marked the hands at the time which spread them. A series of ill success in the course of the war, and uncertainty of its issue, had, like a cold winter, kept them dormant, but had not destroyed them ; and I now found them in this strong sunshine of prosperity, springing up on every side of me in the greatest luxuriance, and soon was, to my irreparable misfortune, doomed to taste largely of their baleful fruits.

Mr. Laurens was then President of the Congress. I had never seen him until that time, and knew nothing of his character. It was not a time in which cool circumspection prevailed, much less for diffidence on my part in the professions of one in his station, to whom I was a stranger, and who received me with open arms, congratulated me on the prosperous state of our public affairs in consequence of our successful negotiations in France, and paid me many compliments on the share which I had had in them, and at the same time observed that those who had been inimical to me, and who had flattered themselves that my recall would reflect some dishonor on me, would now be greatly disappointed ; and at the same time said that he had at all times opposed that resolution. When it is remembered that I returned with a fleet able at the time to give the law in the American seas ; with letters from his most Christian Majesty ; from the Count de Vergennes, his Minister ; and from my worthy friend and colleague, who had been, as he expressed himself in his letter to Congress, an eye witness of my conduct—all witnessing to my zeal in the service of my country, and to the important services which I had rendered it ; and, in addition to these written testimonials, that I had been honored with a present from his most Christian Majesty of his portrait set in an elegant gold box, richly ornamented with diamonds—I say that the

recollection or mention of these circumstances will shew that I had no reason to apprehend the meeting with a cool reception from Congress, much less with a degree of neglect amounting to a disapprobation of my conduct, although I had in Mr. Arthur Lee, my colleague, and in his brother, Mr. William Lee, and in Mr. Izard, the most insidious and inveterate of enemies ; yet as Doctor Franklin had pointed them out in his letters to Congress as such, and warned them against the misrepresentations which these men could probably make of my conduct, I did not apprehend any thing from what these men could either say or write. And conscious of the zeal and fidelity with which I had served my country in the most dangerous and critical times, and with the above mentioned testimonials in my hands, I thought myself well armed against the shafts of envy and malice, but soon found myself deceived. Among the many worthy friends I had the pleasure of meeting in Philadelphia was my most early and constant friend, the late Mr. Hosmer of Connecticut. Our friendship commenced while fellow students and young, and never suffered one moment's interruption to the death of that most worthy man. His health had for many years been precarious, and he was then visibly in a decline, so that he was obliged to leave Congress and return to Connecticut in a few days after my arrival. At parting, on my expressing my design to return to France the ensuing autumn, as the affairs which I had with Congress in America lay in a very narrow compass, whilst a settlement of those in which I had been concerned in on their account in Europe were extensive, and required an early settlement, he said that I would not find it so easy a matter to get away as I expected. On my expressing my surprize, and asking for an explanation, he told me that his ill state of health was not the only cause of his retiring from Congress ; that on his first taking his seat in it he found every thing in it managed by a party, or select junto, of the members, whom he named to me in confidence, and added that, having

been on terms with them, he had certain knowledge of their being inimical to me, and resolved to do me every ill office in their power. To which I observed that I did not see how I was on any account exposed to their attacks. He replied, they never will attack you openly and directly on any part of your political conduct, nor for some time on your commercial. They envy you for the success which you have had, though their own personal salvation and that of their country depended on it, and not less for the honors which you have received, and for the popularity you at present enjoy. Their mode of proceeding will be by studied delay and neglect, on various pretences, to wear out your patience, and in the meantime, without appearing to be inimical, undermine you by secret insinuations and innuendos without doors and among the people that all is not as it ought to be respecting your transactions, by which they will lay the ground for prejudices, which they will confirm by preventing Congress coming to any resolution on the subject of your recall, or on your preceding conduct whilst their servant abroad. He added that he had but too much reason to think that this would be the line of their conduct, for that the leaders of the junto, ignorant of the intimate friendship which subsisted between us, had a few evenings before, in a great measure opened themselves to him on this subject. It will, in the sequel, be found that the apprehensions of my worthy and much lamented friend were well founded, for all their subsequent manœuvres during a sixteen months' attendance on Congress, and fruitless solicitations that they would examine into my conduct and approve or censure it, were in the line pointed out by my honorable friend. Mr. Laurens was not mentioned to me as being one of this junto, or being any way privy to their designs, and his warm expressions of friendship and esteem for me for some time prevented my entertaining the least doubt of his sincerity. I have already described in general the situation of our public affairs and temper

of the times at my arrival, and the brilliant prospects then supposed to be in full and certain view, to which I ought to add another favorable circumstance. The paper of Congress, on the credit of which the success of the war on their part so greatly depended, had then fell no lower than to about four for one, and might, by improving the favorable and promising situation of our affairs at that period, have been prevented sinking any lower, and gradually raised to its nominal value, and by vigorous and reasonable exertions on the part of the Congress, and the governments or Assemblies of the several States, in calling forth the natural strength of the country to co-operate with the French armament under the Count d'Estaing. The war might have been nearly, if not intirely, closed in America that season ; for the British forces were reduced to the possession of two posts only, New York and Newport. But the factions and parties in Congress and in different parts of the States acted like men who, having gained advantages over their enemy in one quarter, fall to quarrelling about the plunder, and leave their foes to rally and to strengthen themselves in others. In a word, from the arrival of the armament under Count d'Estaing in July until his departure for the West Indies in December following, no advantage whatever was gained over the enemy ; and the credit of Congress, instead of rising, sunk so rapidly that their paper fell from four to ten for one, and the year 1779 opened under almost as unfavorable circumstances as the preceding one, when we had no ally to look to for assistance. On my part, I continued my application to Congress for a decision on my conduct whilst in their service until November of that year, when I left Philadelphia for Virginia to embark for France. The severity of the winter detained me, and I was not able to leave the Continent until in June following. Mr. Laurens having been appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the States of Holland, set out from Philadelphia on his embassy three or four days before me.

He, therefore, was acquainted with all my applications to Congress from my first arrival until my leaving Philadelphia, and with all the proceedings of Congress on them. During this period no advantage on our part was gained over the enemy, unless the brilliant action of Gen. Wayne, in surprizing and storming the fort on Stony Point, which was instantly after abandoned, may be called an advantage. Whilst we suffered material losses, in the defeat before the town of Savannah, in Georgia, and in the taking of Charlestown, the capital of South Carolina, in the meantime the paper of Congress, the standard of their credit with the public, fell from ten to about one hundred for one. The circumstances of the war at that time were, on the whole, as unfavorable to us as they had been in any preceding year of it; and they continued to grow worse, and in every respect more discouraging, until the surrender of Lord Cornwallis and of his army at York, in Virginia. This brief review will be found, in the course of my reply to Mr. Laurens, not wholly foreign to the subject; and fearing lest I fatigue the reader by a repetition of what I have already said in my address, I refer to that for the instructions and orders given me by Congress when they appointed me their commercial and political agent in Europe, for an account of the funds with which I was furnished to enable me to execute their orders, and in what manner I actually did execute them. In that address I mentioned my constant application to Congress for the space of sixteen months, personally and by letter, for an examination into my conduct and a final decision on it. Of those letters I have copies of forty-two by me; and Mr. Laurens having charged me with having evaded an inquiry, I shall publish, in an appendix, a number of these letters, and extracts from others of them, with some brief anecdotes and observations to explain them.

But previously it is necessary to go through his three first charges, the first of which is: "That before

my entering into the service of the public, I was in low circumstances, and in no estimation with my fellow citizens." My having been twice chosen by my fellow citizens to represent them in Congress, and their continuing annually to give me their suffrages to be a candidate for one of the first posts in the State, though I was abroad, fully shew in what estimation I was held by my fellow citizens of Connecticut in particular (see No. 1, Appendix, extract from Gov. Trumbull's letter) ; and the journals of Congress will prove by the frequent appointing me on committees on subjects of the greatest importance, and, finally, by their appointing me their commercial and political agent, and the unlimited confidence which they reposed in me in the general instructions given me, will also shew in what degree of estimation I was held by the delegates or representatives of the United States at large. Mr. Laurens, though at that time unheard of, and unknown in the contest, could not be ignorant of these facts, for he had them before him in the records of Congress, and to them I appeal on this delicate subject, which his calumnies alone could have forced me to touch on. I might, I presume, leave the first part of this charge, which accuses me of poverty, to stand or fall by the truth or falsehood of the latter, which I have rested on well known facts and public records, and not on his or my assertions ; but it is no more than justice to the public, whilst exposing this calumniator to their abhorrence and detestation, to inform them, that although he had not an inventory of my estate, real and personal, and a list of my debts and credits before him, by which he could strike the balance for or against me, yet he knew from the records of Congress that in pecuniary as well as in political matters I had an unlimited credit with that body ; and from the same records he knew that four of the principal merchants on the continent, Messrs. Livingston, Alsop, Morris, and Lewis, then members of Congress, committed to my sole manage-

ment and execution a contract to the amount of forty thousand pounds sterling. With the two first of those gentlemen I had had large concerns in trade, and had been long in the habits of intimacy. This was all that Mr. Laurens ever had the means of knowing as to my circumstances. Had he thence a right to infer that they were low, or indigent, or desperate, and to draw the inference so strongly as to assert it in unqualified terms? Or had he not from the above recorded facts all the moral evidence obtainable in such a case to infer the direct contrary? My honest and industrious fellow citizens in Connecticut did not at that day—and I hope never will—regard poverty as a crime or wealth as a virtue; though they may and ought to regard the means by which men may sink into the former or rise into the latter as virtuous or vicious, and sometimes extremely so. Poverty and wealth are comparative terms. In Connecticut, where a moderate and happy equality of fortune so generally prevails, I was rich. I lived in the first stile among my fellow citizens, and was in as good credit with them in pecuniary as in political matters, and until the depreciation of the paper of Congress, by them arbitrarily made a legal tender in all cases, and in every stage of it, swept away the capital part of my moderate fortune, which was vested in bonds on interest and in mortgages, and involved me, with thousands wealthier than myself, in one common shipwreck, I was so far at my ease as to entertain little anxiety for the future. But if compared with Mr. Laurens, I confess that I was then poor, and confess without a blush that by serving my country, in preference to attending to my private affairs, I am now still poorer. My moderate fortune was not acquired by the slavery, toil, and distress of hundreds of my fellow creatures; nor whilst I zealously asserted the rights of men in general, of my fellow citizens more immediately, and subscribed to the doctrine of the equality of all men by nature, and of their being inherently and unalien-

ably entitled to equal liberty ; and that to attempt to deprive any part of our fellow men of their natural rights was the highest possible crime, did I, at the same time, in order to increase my private fortune, hold hundreds of poor Africans groaning in chains and perpetual slavery, and bleeding under the lash of merciless taskmasters appointed by me to goad and drive them on like cattle to their utmost exertions, to increase my wealth and pamper my pride. Nor since the shipwreck of fortune which I have suffered have I, in direct violation of resolution of Congress, and of my own honor, solemnly pledged to maintain and submit to, contracted with African merchants in this country for consignments of thousands of poor, unfortunate negroes, and debased myself from the rank I once held to that most infamous one in the estimation of every man of honor and humanity, of a negro broker, or dealer in human flesh. Who that has not banished from his breast every tender, every humane, or honorable sentiment, and given himself up to the absolute government of one passion only, that of an accursed thirst for gold, will envy wealth thus acquired? And how weak and preposterous the vanity and pride of this man thus to contrast his wealth, purchased by the slavery, toil, and blood of his fellow creatures, with my poverty—for I again confess that my circumstances compared with his I was poor. But he says, that, poor as I was, I found means immediately after my arrival in France to send out two ships with valuable cargoes, on my own account, and thence insinuates that I could not have found means for such a purchase in an honest way. In what way could I have procured money for such a purchase? Though it is evident that he never expected that what he said against me to Mr. Russel and to others would ever come to my ears, and, therefore, like an assassin in the dark, resolved to strike deep ; yet conscious at the same time that all the monies ever put into my hands, or remitted me from

the first to the last of my being in the public service, by Congress, would not have purchased the one half of one very moderate cargo of European goods, and at the same time aware that the state of the funds of Congress in my hands, at that period, was generally known to be inadequate to such a purchase, even if I had converted the whole to my own use, he weakly attempted to insinuate that I might have received the money from the British Ministers. Thus, whilst I was exerting myself, under the greatest embarrassments, to procure and send out those stores of cloathing, artillery, arms, &c., which enabled the army of the United States to take the field in 1777, and to decide the fate of that campaign in their favor by the victory at Saratoga, and eventually the fate of our independance, I was in the pay of the British government! This is too ridiculously absurd to merit a serious answer. But if, without neglecting the service of my constituents, or embezzelling their monies, I had sent out twenty ships and cargoes on my own account, what right has Mr. Laurens, or any other person, to inquire whence or how I was enabled to do it? But the assertion that I did send out two ships and cargoes on my own account is a false one, and Mr. Laurens himself knows it to be such, for he was President of Congress when, in August, 1778, I gave Congress a narrative of my transactions, public and private, from my entering into their service until my return; and the junto already mentioned, having by their emissaries insinuated that I was become rich in the public service, I gave Congress a faithful account of what I had done, or rather attempted to do, for my own private emolument, and then observed that as insinuations or reports had been circulated that I had made a fortune by trade whilst in their service, I must intreat of them that if any suspicion remained on the minds of any of the members that I had done other or more than what I then stated, I might be informed of it, and I would remove every doubt on that head.

When I received my commission of political and commercial agent, a part of my instructions were, that on my arrival in France, and until I should be able to appear in my real character, I should take that of a merchant who had come to France merely on mercantile speculations; and to enable me to do this the more consistently Mr. Morris, then one of the Congress, and one of the committee who signed my commission and instructions, agreed that I should, if to be obtained on a reasonable credit, send out cargoes of goods to him, and interest him to the amount of third, or one half, or less, as I might be able to interest merchants in France, or be disposed to take a share to myself in the adventures. In compliance with my instructions and my agreement with Mr. Morris, I sent out a small brigantine from Bourdeaux with a moderate cargo, the vessel and cargo amounting to about three thousand pounds only, the whole on credit, one third of which was for Mr. Morris, one third was taken by a house in Bourdeaux, and I took one third to myself. No insurance was to be obtained, and the vessel being taken, we suffered a total loss. Six months after this I sent out a larger ship and cargo, of which a house in Paris held one half, Mr. Morris one fourth, and I took the remainder. This ship arrived, but the depreciation and other circumstances destroyed our expected profits. I gave this account verbally to Congress, in August, 1778, Mr. Laurens, then President, and Mr. Morris present, being a member. In December following I gave the same account, included in a written narrative, read in Congress, Mr. Laurens being present as one of the members. I then declared that the above were the whole of my private mercantile transactions whilst in public service, and that although I had fitted out and loaded fifteen sail of vessels with stores for the army of the United States, all of which save one had the good fortune to arrive. I had not put so much as a single trunk of goods into any one of them, on my

own account, and I then and have ever since challenged my enemies to prove anything to the contrary. Were it possible to be done, Mr. Laurens, and those connected with him, would have done it before this day. He has had every advantage for it, for, besides his having, as President of Congress and Chairman of their Commercial Committee, every paper which related to me or my transactions, in his hands, he has passed many months in France, in a situation to be well informed, even of the minutest part of my public conduct; much more so of such a transaction as the purchasing and loading two ships with European goods, on my own account, immediately on my arrival in France. I trust that I have proved that this assertion of his is false, and that he had at least every kind of knowledge to be obtained in such a case of its being so at the time, and long before his discourse with Mr. Russel.

I will now meet his third, which is the most serious of his charges; the two former are light and trifling in comparison with this, for they amount in themselves to nothing more than, in the first of them, of my being poor and of no note in the world, antecedent to my entering into the service of my country; and in the second, of my attempts to better my circumstances by purchasing and sending out two ships and cargoes of goods to America on my own account soon after my arrival in France; had this been a fact, the inference which he endeavored to insinuate from it is too awkward and absurd to need farther animadversion. If when entrusted by my colleagues to make up and send off important dispatches, jointly made out by us, to Congress, I treacherously kept them back and substituted blank paper in their place, I merit the severest punishment; but if I am innocent of this charge, what do those merit, who, knowing me to be innocent, wantonly and maliciously charge me with a crime of so deep a dye? It is true that dispatches in the autumn of 1777, were made out by the

Commissioners for Congress ; that besides these they respectfully wrote a number of letters to their private friends ; that there were three sets of the public dispatches made out, to guard against the accidents of war, and that I took on me to forward them in the most safe and expeditious manner ; it is also true that the first set of them, designed for Capt. Folger, were intercepted, the covers of the letters lifted and the letters taken out, and blank paper of an equal bulk artfully substituted in their place. As this was the only instance of our having our dispatches intercepted, and as it was productive of some important consequences both in Europe and America, it will afford some satisfaction to the public to be informed of every material circumstance relative to this singular event. I hope that I shall be excused for taking up more of their time on this charge of Mr. Laurens's than on the former. I have already observed, that at the time of making out these dispatches, our prospects, both in France and in America, were extremely discouraging, and that the court of France appeared to view our cause as absolutely desperate ; that even the appearance of what little countenance they had before shewn us, they gave the most unequivocal proofs of their resolution to disavow, and leave us to our fate. I am sensible that this will appear inconsistent with their subsequent declarations when they agreed to conclude treaties with us in support of our independancy, but I am under the necessity of saying thus much of their temper and conduct at that period, and, in support of it, to mention a few out of many overt acts of theirs in support of what I have here advanced. The Commissioners were at that time refused any access to the Minister, even in the most secret manner ; the strictest injunctions, and of a nature not to be disobeyed, were sent to every port in the kingdom, not to permit any stores of any kind to be shipped on board of American vessels, or on any other suspected of being bound thither ; and, to shew

that they were in earnest, they punished those of their own subjects who were accused of having carried out military stores to the United States ; they obliged all American vessels which had arms or other warlike stores on board to land them. The prizes captured by our privateers, and sent into the ports of France, were ordered to be restored to their original owners, and our armed vessels to leave their ports in twenty-four hours ; those which could not comply had their sails and rudders taken from them, &c., &c. This was our situation with the Court of France at that time, and consequently our letters to Congress were in a more discouraging stile than any written by the Commissioners, either before or afterward. In our letters to our private friends, it may be readily imagined that we spoke still more freely ; but as to this I can only say for myself that I did not disguise our situation. One Hynson of Maryland, who had formerly been master of a ship from thence in the London trade, and was by the war thrown out of employ, came over to Paris to solicit one in the service of Congress ; this man was strongly recommended by his countrymen of the same state then in Paris, to the Commissioners, as an able and experienced seaman, and as a strictly honest man, and we employed him to purchase a lugger from Dover, to be employed either as a cruiser or as a packet boat. Circumstances induced us to employ her first in a cruise, and to give the command of her not to him, but to Capt. Nicholson of the same state. This secretly disgusted Hynson, though he gave no symptoms of it in his words or actions, but appeared as zealous as before, and ready to expose himself in any form or way that should be pointed out for the service of his country ; and, to be brief, after many disappointed attempts to find him employ, I recommended him to one Monsr. Eyries of Havre du Grace, who had applied to me for a captain of a ship he was loading for Virginia. Soon after his going to Havre du Grace, Capt. Folger of Nantucket came

to Paris. Doctor Franklin was well acquainted, and in some degree of kindred, with his family, and therefore was the more urgent to have some employ found for him. Having followed the whaling business, he was a competent pilot on the coast of North America. I therefore gave him a letter of recommendation to a house in Havre du Grace, to employ him themselves if they sent, as they had proposed, a ship to Boston ; if not, to assist him in procuring some employ from others. Hynson soon after his being with Eyries differed with him, and left his ship, and was thus again thrown out of business, of which he informed me by letter, in which he prayed for a continuance of my assistance ; this was the situation of these men at the time when I made up those dispatches. Hynson I knew was out of employ, but I had not heard from Folger, and therefore thought it probable that he had engaged himself on board of some vessel for America ; the commissioners agreed that the dispatches should be sent out by one of them, and they had no reason to give the preference to Folger on any account, except on that of his superior knowledge of the American coasts ; but for this Hynson had the first claim on us for employ. Monsr. Chaumont had a cutter lying ready to proceed the moment that the dispatches should arrive ; it was therefore agreed that I should send them by express to his correspondent at Havre du Grace, and write to Hynson that if Folger was employed, then he was to take the dispatches, and proceed, according to the orders inclosed, to America ; but if Folger was disengaged, then they were to be given to him with the orders which were directed to either of them. I gave Hynson our motives for giving Folger the preference, and informed him that Mr. Williams had a ship ready for him at Nantes, which I hoped would compensate for his former disappointments and loss of time, and urged him to go directly and take the command of her. Our express returned with a receipt from Monsr. Chaumont's correspondent,

and with a letter from Hynson, informing that he had delivered the dispatches to Folger, and that he should, in a day or two at farthest, set out for Nantes. Thus this man got possession of the dispatches, and before his delivering them to Folger, by the aid of an ingenious and intriguing gentleman at Havre du Grace, performed the above manœuvre, and immediately set off for London with his plundered letters; but least any suspicion should arise from my not hearing from him at Nantes so early as I should expect, and on enquiry might learn that he had set his face the contrary way, he wrote that he was so lame that he should not be able to set out under three or four days, by which time I heard of his being in England. Though surprized at this man's defection, the Commissioners did not entertain the least suspicion of his treachery respecting the dispatches and letters. Capt. Johnson was then at Morlaix, in the Lexington, ready to sail for America, and to him I sent a few days after by express the second set, or duplicates of the dispatches supposed to be on board of Capt. Folger. Capt. Johnson, by the severity of the French government at that time, was obliged to sail short of ammunition. He was attacked, and after expending the whole of his stock, surrendered, and was carried into port; but as he had positive orders to sink his dispatches in case of an attack, and as we heard nothing from Folger, we concluded that he had got safe off the coast of Europe, and from his superior knowledge of the coast of America had no doubt but that the first set of our dispatches would arrive in safety. Soon after this it was reported in London that the dispatches on board of Capt. Johnson had not been sunk, but were taken and in the hands of the British Ministers, and many hints as to their contents were thrown out which greatly alarmed us, and convinced me at the time that this had actually happened; and so fully was I persuaded of this that on Capt. Johnson's escape from England and arriving at Paris, my first question to him was how

he came to forget to sink his dispatches. He was astonished at my question, put to him in a stile which convinced him that I had not the least doubt of his neglect, and assured me in the most solemn manner that he sunk the dispatches with every private letter on board of him the moment he was attacked. This made the whole extremely mysterious, for I had seen hints in the London papers, and had been told in conversation of certain facts which could not have come to the knowledge of any one unacquainted with the contents of our dispatches ; but when I came to the knowledge of the imposition on Folger, and compared that with Hynson's having had the dispatches in his hands near twenty-four hours, his known intimacy with a certain gentleman suspected to be in the English interest, his going to England immediately after the sailing of Folger, his appearing in London well in cash from not having one shilling before, save what he received from the Commissioners, and his having a post given him in the British Navy, the whole became explained, and as evident as any transaction of such a nature perhaps ever was. I can with great confidence affirm that I never heard of a single doubt being entertained by any one individual in America as to my conduct in this affair. It is indeed true that a scurrilous writer [Thomas Paine], prompted by the junto to abuse me in the public papers, and who ventured without hesitation to advance the boldest falsehoods, and who had been so often detected, and so frequently suffered personal chastisement on that account that he had become as totally insensible to shame as to the being kicked or caned, did insinuate in one of the papers that it was probable that I was privy to, or active in, the intercepting of those dispatches ; but not having been well instructed by his prompters, or forgetting his lesson, he rendered himself to the last degree ridiculous ; for having been for some time clerk to the Secret Committee, he took on himself the title of Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and though his inso-

lence and folly had lost him the place, yet he still pretended to be in all the secrets of that office; and to render it probable that I might (he never ventured to assert it) have been guilty, he affirmed that those dispatches contained information which placed my transactions with Monsr. Beaumarchais in a very different light from that in which that gentleman and myself had represented them, and to shew how he came by the knowledge of this he owned that the third set, or triplicates of those dispatches had arrived, as it was as easy for me to have destroyed or intercepted the whole, and to have substituted blank paper in the covers of each of them as in one, and as the arrival of one must have been as prejudicial to me as of the three. This weak and villainous insinuation of his met with the ridicule it so justly merited, and I never heard any thing more of it, either in America or in Europe, until its being revived by Mr. Laurens.

In every age of the world many, if not most, of the greatest events have been produced originally from the most trifling causes, and often from unexpected and improbable accidents. The late revolution, in almost every step in its progress, affords striking instances of this. I will not take on me to determine how far the intercepting of the first set of those dispatches and the sinking of the second influenced the measures of those times, but I will state a few facts, with one or two observations on them. The Commissioners had not, for some time previous to their date, sent any information of their situation to Congress, for they scarcely knew what to write, and hitherto they had said nothing in a discouraging stile; but, on the contrary, had said every thing they could with justice write to encourage Congress to persevere, and ultimately to expect aid from France. In these, though the Commissioners put the fairest appearance in their power on their situation and prospects, and the most favorable construction on the conduct of the French Ministers, yet they could not avoid the mention of

facts from which the most unfavorable conclusions must have been drawn by Congress had Folger arrived with the dispatches, instead of blank paper in their place, or if Johnson had not been taken. On the other hand, the British Ministers, from the contents of those dispatches and letters, found in what state we were with the Court of Versailles, and how small our expectations of effectual assistance from thence. This encouraged them to take the resolution to prosecute the war with vigor, confident that it must soon terminate successfully on their part; and this confidence, rising from the authentic information given by our letters, and the successful train in which their operations in America then appeared to be, evidently dictated the speech from the Throne at the opening of the subsequent session of Parliament. Let these circumstances be compared with the stile and tenor of that speech, and my conjecture will, as I think, be fully confirmed. It is impossible to say what effect those dispatches might have had on Congress had they received them in due time by Folger or by Johnson in the distressed situation in which they then were at York Town; but by the interception of the first, and loss of the second, the triplicates did not arrive until after they had received intelligence of the treaties with France having been signed. Consequently, when the Commissioners on the part of Great Britain arrived in America to propose terms of accommodation to Congress, no discouraging intelligence had been received by them from their Commissioners at Paris, and they still relied on the effects which their victory at Saratoga was expected to have in France in their favor, and they were not (as the event has shown) deceived. I fear that I may already have been too lengthy on this charge. I will therefore dismiss it with observing that Mr. Laurens was well informed of all the principal facts above stated, and had had it in his power, both in America and in Europe, to have been so with the minutest of them; and it is sufficient for his confusion

to observe that he officially knew of the safe arrival of the third set, or triplicate of those dispatches, being at the time President of Congress.'

I have no reason to suppose that Mr. Laurens confined his invectives against me to his conversation with Mr. Russel ; but, on the contrary, that he let no occasion pass unimproved in the same manner wherever he apprehended no danger of being detected. He knew that I had not, and in all probability never would have, any acquaintance with Mr. Russel ; and after the hideous character which he had given of me, he had a moral certainty that no acquaintance ever would take place ; and if any advances should be made on my part, that his friend, firmly believing all that he had told him of me, would avoid me as he would the worst of men. But accident has detected him, and forced me to hold up to public view a man who, professing the strictest honor and veracity, dares, in order to defame and injure another, to go directly in the face of facts to which he had been personally a witness—nay, more, in the face of records made under his own eye ; a man who, whilst he professes the most exalted and disinterested patriotism, and the most ardent wish for universal liberty, and that slavery may no longer exist in the world, but that all men may be put into the enjoyment of those equal rights to which by the great laws of nature they are entitled, values himself on wealth acquired by the slavery of his fellow creatures, whom he still holds in the galling chains of bondage, toiling and bleeding under his lash, to augment his riches ; and despises others for their poverty, whose poverty, if real, may be the consequence of their having acted more consistently with their profession, and been more scrupulous as to the means of acquiring wealth than what he has been.

When one man refuses or evades a settlement of accounts with another, it is generally presumed that he knows that he is indebted, and is either unwilling or unable to pay the balance which he foresees will

be struck against him ; his inability to pay is not a crime, and the disagreeable circumstance of being obliged to disclose his situation, which he must do on a settlement, may induce him to evade the closing of his account. This is not criminal, though it generally proves to be imprudent conduct in the debtor. But if he is able to pay, and evades a settlement from an unwillingness to pay the balance due from him, he is guilty of injustice, and so far criminal as his creditor may be injured by being kept out of his just due. When a man has received monies of the public, being in a public station, in trust for public service, and when called on to account refuses to render any account whatever, or the best in his power evades a settlement, or even an examination into his money transactions, the presumption is strong against him either that he kept no account how or for what he paid out the sums entrusted to his management, or that he has converted them, or a part of them, to his own use, and by his evasions hopes to conceal his embezzlement. In the first case, he is guilty of criminal negligence ; in the latter, of a breach of trust, and, in effect, of robbing the public. Mr. Laurens meant to charge me with the latter, by his affirming, as in the fourth charge, that on my return I practised every artifice in my power to avoid the being called to an account, and, among others, that I procured myself to be reelected a member of Congress. Are not members of Congress as liable to be called on to account for the monies of the public as others who have not a seat in the house ? Mr. Laurens insinuates as much, and it might have been so to a certain degree, whilst the power and influence of the junto, of which he made one, were such that they could prevent a man soliciting for the favor of rendering in an account of his public conduct from being permitted to do it, which was my case ; for, in the first place, I did, immediately on my arrival in Philadelphia, give unto Mr. Laurens an account of all the monies received by the Commissioners on the account of

Congress, and the sums paid out, and to whom, and for what purposes, to the day of my leaving Paris ; which accompt was signed by Mons. Grand, banker for the Commissioners, and for some time heard not of any objections. But at length these ingenious gentlemen discovered that as I had not produced the receipts of the several persons to whom the monies had been paid by the banker by order of the Commissioners, which receipts the banker held in his hands, and could not give them up but on a final settlement with all the Commissioners. And as I had neither an accompt of all the minutiae of our disbursements and expences, and vouchers to support the justice of them, therefore what I delivered in was not an accompt. Secondly, as soon as I found, to my surprize, that objections of so extraordinary a nature were made I applied to Congress, praying that whatever objections were made to any part of my conduct, either as their political or commercial agent, might be delivered me in writing, and that an early day might be assigned for my being heard at their bar ; and that as it had been impossible for me when I left Paris to settle the accompts of the Commissioners, not having either power or time given me for that purpose, that Congress would put the settlement of all their accompts in Europe into such a train for a general settlement as should be expeditious and determinate, and permit me to return without delay to give in the necessary vouchers for the disbursements of the Commissioners in general, and for my own, which had been necessarily intermixed with theirs. This reasonable request was not granted, and I could obtain no answer in the course of more than twelve months urgent solicitation for this. I never could obtain a single word in answer during this time. I wrote and solicited personally, but to no purpose. My letters were ordered to lye on the table, and my personal solicitations were equally disregarded. To have peremptorily refused my request would have given the lie direct to the reports circulated by the junto and

their partisans that I evaded coming to an accompt for the monies entrusted to my management; and to have granted it would have answered my utmost wishes and covered my enemies with confusion. A middle way was, therefore, artfully adopted, and on pretence of more urgent and important business, my letters and petitions were thus referred to some future, but no determinate, time. I have in my possession copies of forty-two letters, the originals of which are to this day on the table or on the files of Congress, in almost every one of which I urged for an immediate settlement of long accompts; and in every instance when Mr. Laurens was in his place in Congress, and he was seldom absent, he voted for the laying my letters on the table, as above mentioned. After I had sent in several of these letters, finding what the fate of my letters was likely to be, I wrote to Congress, specifying certain objections to my conduct whilst in the public service, and particularly to my disbursements of public money, which amounted to a charge of gross speculation, which objections and criminal accusation had been inserted in the public papers, and prayed to be heard at the bar of the house, and in the most open and public manner in my defence. On the reading of this letter, a motion was made and seconded that I might be heard. This was opposed by Mr. Laurens and his party, and negatived, and his name, with others of his party who had been the most industrious in insinuating that I evaded all enquiry because I could not answer for my conduct, stand recorded on the journals of Congress in the negative of that question. I have, therefore, not only the persons present at these transactions, particularly the worthy secretary of Congress, and my own letters, but the journals and records of Congress to appeal to in support of these facts, and to those I also appeal to justify me in saying that from January, 1776, to the present time I have not been a member of Congress, and that Mr. Laurens was a member, and part of the time President of Congress, during the whole of

my being in Philadelphia. Nothing, as I have already observed, but his confidence that the calumnies which he secretly propagated against me would never come to my knowledge; and his implacable disposition to persevere in wounding one who had never injured him, could have prompted him to hazard such assertions. I presume that I have fully confuted, and that by well authenticated facts, every one of Mr. Laurens's charges against me, and given the public a general sketch of his character from his conduct, represented without any exaggeration on my part. Yet, to put the falsehood of the last charge beyond all question, and to give a still nearer view of the temper of those times, and of the treatment which I met with in them, and of the intrigues and artifices of this man, which in a great degree contributed to that treatment, I must refer to some of my letters above mentioned, and to extracts from others of them. To publish the whole would swell this defence of mine into a large volume. I shall, therefore, insert some of them entire, and extracts from others in the appendix, and give a few anecdotes and observations by which they will be more clearly understood. I wish to avoid the repetition of any circumstance or occurrence mentioned in my address, and having given a brief account of the situation of public affairs, and the temper of the times, and the friendly professions of Mr. Laurens on my arrival, I must observe that the hints given me by my friend, Mr. Hosmer, had not made that impression on my mind which I have since found they ought to have left; and Mr. Laurens continuing to appear one of my warm friends, and Mr. Hosmer not having said any thing of him as being one of those unfavorable to me, I was led to place confidence in his assurances of his esteem, and in his offers of service. The French Ministers had enjoined the strictest secrecy as to my return and the route which I was to take, and so little confidence had they in my colleague, Mr. Arthur Lee, that he was not informed of it until after my being actually

on the road to Toulon, when Mr. Gerard, the Minister appointed by the Court of Versailles to Congress, who left Paris after me by a different route, acquainted him with it, and offered to take any letters which he might wish to send to his friends in America. Mr. Lee improved the few hours allowed him, in writing generally to his brothers, then in Congress, and the stile and contents of those letters may be judged of by what he afterwards wrote to Congress, copies of which I was favored with by Congress, as I shall mention hereafter. Mr. Izard, who is as noted for the irascibility and haughtiness of his temper as for the exalted ideas which he entertains of his own importance from his great estate in plantations and slaves, lost all temper on this supposed insult on him; for, having been appointed by Congress their Commissioner to the Court of Tuscany, he conceived, or pretended, that he ought to be consulted by the Commissioners of Congress at the Court of Versailles, and to be made acquainted with all their proceedings. Mr. William Lee, who had also at the same time been commissioned to the Courts of Versailles and Berlin, made the same claim, but with more temper; and in this singular demand they were supported by Mr. Arthur Lee, and opposed by Doctor Franklin and myself. It was foreseen by these gentlemen that Congress would not any longer continue three Commissioners Plenipotentiaries at the Court of Versailles, but entrust their affairs to the management of a single Minister, and the same at other Courts. They also had a reason to apprehend that Doctor Franklin would be preferred, and be appointed to the Court of Versailles; and that under the favorable circumstances which attended my return, that I might have the second choice of a foreign appointment, which must interfere with their views. This quickened their industry in writing first to their private friends in America, and then directly to Congress, to prevent either of those appointments from taking place. I had sent an express

to Congress the moment of my getting within the Capes of Delaware, informing them of my arrival; and after my getting up the river to Philadelphia, being almost every day in company with Mr. Laurens, then President, I did not think it necessary to make a formal application to Congress for an audience, as I repeatedly mentioned to him my wish to have one as early as possible, but was told that the ceremonials for the audience of Mons. Gerard, the French Minister, must be previously settled. To these I submitted; but after this was over, hearing nothing from Congress, I applied to them by letter on the 28th, of July, informing them that I waited their orders, and after several appointments and postponements of the day for my being heard, I was, on the 21st, of August, permitted to give Congress a verbal relation of my transactions whilst in their service, and of the state of affairs in Europe, and at the same time to give them the above-mentioned accompt of Mr. Grand's, by which they might see the state of their funds at the disposal of their Commissioners at the time of my leaving Paris. I requested that if any objections had been taken to any part of my conduct I might be made acquainted with the nature of them, and be heard in explanation, that so the most full satisfaction might be given to every individual, as well as to the public. To this no reply was made, and I retired, fully persuaded that Congress was satisfied with my conduct; and I attributed my hearing nothing farther from them for some weeks to the multiplicity of important business which they then had on their hands; and this, Mr. Laurens, to whom I daily spoke on the subject, assured me was the only cause of the delay, and I believed him, for I had not as yet seen any thing of what was lurking behind that solemn mask, which he never lays aside, except when passion or accident puts him off his guard; nor did I suspect it possible that under those fair appearances he was actuated by passions dark and gloomy as Erebus, and that, whilst he made the fairest profes-

sions, his head was stored with meditated wiles to circumvent and ruin every one who appeared to stand in the way of his avarice or of his ambition.

I have already observed that Mr. Izard and the Messrs. Lee's were apprehensive that on my return to America Congress would again send me out in a public character, which might interfere with their views. On my arrival in Philadelphia I found that this had been talked of and expected, and that as a foreign loan had become indispensibly necessary to prevent the ruin of public credit, that I should be sent to Holland to negotiate one. Mr. Laurens had secretly resolved to procure this appointment for himself ; but as he had never been mentioned, or perhaps thought of, except by himself, for any foreign negotiation, he did not choose at that time to run the risque of offering himself as a candidate, but to delay and put off any resolution on the subject until a more favorable opportunity might present for his purpose, which he resolved not to relinquish, whatever fatal consequences might ensue to public credit by the delaying to procure a loan, the only means for preventing the daily accumulation of paper, and its ultimate annihilation by a public bankruptcy. To effect this delay, he began by decrying the measure, by insinuating that a loan could not be easily, if on any terms, obtained when a general war was expected in Europe, and that to become indebted to foreign powers was to become virtually dependant on them, and nothing more than exchanging our dependance on Great Britain, with other popular arguments of equal weight. This stile of reasoning appeared extremely weak and absurd to many, as well as to myself ; and very few, if any, suspected that his design was only to put off the measure, for the present, to a more favorable time for his obtaining the management of it ; but the event has discovered this to have been his early design on this subject. Of those gentlemen who appeared to interest themselves in my favor, Col. Duer was one, and when the com-

ing to a resolution on my conduct whilst in the public service could not be any longer delayed, a motion was made in Congress to take it into consideration, and to come to a close of the affair, that I might not be detained any longer. This met with no opposition, and just as the question was about to be put, Mr. Laurens, contrary to all precedent in parliamentary, or even congressional, proceedings (except those which he had himself given by often rising in a debate and taking part in it), rose, and with great appearance of candor and expressions of esteem for me, informed Congress that he had some weeks before received letters from Mr. Izard respecting me, and my conduct in France; but that he really had not read them farther than just to run over a few passages in them, by which he found what the general purport of them was. They were private letters, and not addressed to him in his official capacity, and therefore he doubted as to the propriety of laying them before Congress; but he thought it his duty to inform them that he had received such letters. And as Mr. Izard had requested him to shew them to Col. Duer, he wished that gentleman would call on him, that they might jointly examine their contents, and determine whether it was proper to lay them, or any part of them, before Congress; and that in the meantime he would move that the further consideration of the motion then before Congress should be postponed to some future day. In this insidious manner did this man begin his operations, to prejudice me and serve himself. Col. Duer observed that as to his seeing the letters, he did not think it of any consequence; they were not addressed to him, and as they were not official but private letters, Mr. Laurens must be the sole judge of the propriety of laying them, or any part of them, before Congress. Though many of the members acquainted with the character of the man, and with his artifices, saw plainly that he entertained some inimical design towards me, yet as he had already artfully excited the

curiosity of Congress, they did not therefore oppose the putting off the subject to a future opportunity, and left him secretly to triumph in the success of manœuvre. As soon as Congress had adjourned I was informed of what had passed in the house, and that evening, soon after eight o'clock, when I concluded that his dinner company had retired, I went to wait on him, and was told by the servant that his master was retired and was going into bed. Surprized at this, I asked with some eagerness if he had been taken ill; he said no, but was very much fatigued, and wanted rest. Before I had got many rods from his door the servant came after me, and told me that his master would be glad to see me, on which I returned, and found him in his dining room, with a number of papers before him. He had just finished one solitary bottle of Madeira, and ordering his black boy George to bring another. He assumed the most solemn countenance that ever hypocrite attempted to hide behind, and said that my calling on him that evening must really be by the direction of divine providence, for he had resolved to see no one that evening, having devoted it to an examination of Mr. Izard's letters, which, as he understood, affected me, and that very materially, though he, as he positively and repeatedly affirmed, had never read them; but on hearing my voice at the door, it struck him that my calling on him was directed by providence, that I might examine those letters with him, and give him my advice how to act on the occasion; the letters he said, had lain some time by him, unexamined as he expected that Col. Duer would have called on him to peruse them with him. In the course of my life I have never been witness to so contemptible a scene of grimace and bungling hypocrisy as was exhibited on this occasion; but my desire of knowing as early as possible the contents of those letters restrained me from expressing any part of my sentiments of this mode of proceeding, and with the aid of a fresh bottle of excellent Madeira, which George had by this time brought

in, we entered on the letters. The first of Mr. Izard's letters is dated the 16th, of February, 1778, ten days after the signing of the treaties at Paris. It is a long letter, filling up seven pages in large folio, and says nothing of Col. Duer until in the sixth page of it, in which Mr. Izard says: "*If you are acquainted with Mr. Duer, I should be glad that you would communicate the contents of this letter to him.*" Col. Duer is not mentioned in any of these other letters from Mr. Izard to Mr. Laurens. Whence two observations naturally occur: first, that Mr. Izard, knowing that Col. Duer was in Congress, would not have wrote in this manner had he even suspected that Mr. Laurens would have laid his private and confidential letters before Congress; secondly, how very weak and absurd the conduct of the latter was in pretending that he had not read the letters, expecting that Col. Duer would call on him and read them with him, when he must have read this, which is one of the longest, though not the most virulent, of all of them, nearly through, before he met with any thing about communicating the contents to that gentleman; and then Mr. Izard leaves it intirely to Mr. Laurens's discretion to communicate it or not, as he shall think best. Mr. Izard's other letters are dated March 1st, April 1st, April 11th, and June 28th, 1778. I will be as brief as possible in the few extracts from them which I mean to lay before the public. The first, of Feb. 16th, begins thus: "*I mentioned to you in my last letters what good effects the success of the American arms had produced here. Nothing could have happened more seasonably. Our affairs were in a very unpromising state, and had our military operations failed, our Commissioners would not have found themselves more acceptable here than at St. James's.*" Some have pretended to question if the Court of Versailles would, as I have represented, abandoned us, but for the success here referred to. Mr. Izard, however, confirms as much as I have ever advanced on this subject. Mr. Izard's

letters contain little more than complaints of Doctor Franklin's and my conduct in negotiating and concluding the treaties ; but as they turn chiefly on circumstances and incidents foreign to the present subject, I will only select a few of his sentiments expressed in his letters. Respecting us, in the same letter, he says : " Nothing ever so much surprized me in my life as the proceedings of the two eldest Commissioners. Had they been as infallible in politics as the Pope pretends to be in matters of religion, they could not have acted with a greater degree of confidence." Again : " Their situation seems to have intoxicated them, and there is a degree of hauteur and presumption about one of them that cannot fail of being offensive to any gentleman who has business to transact with him ;" and, farther, " I wrote a note to Doctor Franklin, appointing an interview, and with studied moderation mentioned such parts of his conduct as I disapproved of. He acknowledged every thing, apologized for every thing, and promised that I should in future have no reason to complain. He has not thought proper to be as good as his word, and his proceedings since have been more exceptionable than before." "*How these gentlemen* (Doctor F. and Mr. D.) could take upon them to act so directly in opposition to their instructions, I cannot conceive." In his letter of the 1st, of March, he says : " Doctor Franklin has taken upon him, expressly contrary to the instructions of Congress, to withhold the treaty from me, and has upon all occasions presumptuously set himself and Mr. Deane up as the only persons who have any interest in the affairs in America." " I shall avoid entering into particulars respecting this gentleman (Mr. D.), and shall only give my opinion of him, which is, that if the whole world had been searched, I think it would have been impossible to have found one more unfit for the office into which he has by the storm and convulsions of the time been shaken." And he closes his letter of the 11th, of April thus : " The

object of these gentlemen (Dr. F. and Mr. D.) is to have Mr. Deane come back in a public character, if not to France, perhaps to Holland, or some other Court of Europe." And to prevent this was the object of Mr. Izard's writing, as much as it was of Mr. Laurens's acting the part he did at that time. In his letter of the 28th, of June: "From the disposition of the principal parties concerned in the negotiations (referring to the treaties), and from the manner in which my application respecting the 11th, and 12th, articles of the Treaty of Commerce was received, there is very little reason to think that any objections, however justly founded, would have made any impressions on the interested views of one, or on the haughtiness and self sufficiency of the other. I have, however, done every thing in my power, and shall be very happy if any good effects should be produced by my endeavors. It has been my constant wish to avoid contentions of every kind. It has been particularly my desire to avoid them with Dr. Franklin, from every consideration. His abilities are great and his reputation high. Removed, as he is, to so considerable a distance from the observation of his constituents, if he is not guided by principles of virtue and honor, those abilities and that reputation may produce the most mischievous effects. In my conscience I declare to you that I believe him to be under no such internal restraint; and God knows that I speak the real, unprejudiced sentiments of my heart. If at any time I have been under the influence of prejudice, it has been in his favor; and nothing but my own observation could have convinced me so thoroughly how undeservedly it is possible for public approbation to be bestowed." Again, in this long letter, which fills up nearly eight pages of large folio paper, he says: "If any thing was necessary to make the effrontery which I have complained of compleat, it was Dr. Franklin's observation, that if my apprehensions were ever so just, it was now too late for any

remedy here. His tricks and chicanery put it out of my power to make any objections before the treaties were signed and sent to America, and then he gives that as a reason why no remedy should be attempted against the evil which is pointed out. In my conscience I believe him to be an improper person to be entrusted with the management of the affairs of America in this kingdom. If he were sent to the Court of Vienna he would not have an opportunity of doing any harm." By this last expression it seems that Doctor Franklin, as well as myself, stood in the way of the new arrangements proposed by these gentlemen as to the foreign Ministers of Congress. Afterwards, speaking of an affair at Dunkirk, he says: "Perhaps Dr. Franklin may say that he had nothing to do with the Dunkirk business. His tricks are in general carried on with so much cunning, that it is extremely difficult to fix them on him." These specimens are sufficient to shew what the stile and contents of Mr. Izard's letters were; and that he never expected that they would be made public by Mr. Laurens, to whom he wrote as to his private confidential friend. When we had finished reading them, Mr. Laurens, with professions of great friendship and esteem for me, asked my advice, what he ought to do with them. Should he suppress them wholly, and regard them as the meer ebullitions of Mr. Izard's anger and resentment at some supposed neglect from Doctor Franklin and myself, should he only lay some extracts from them, or should he lay the whole of them before Congress? intimating that he would feel governed by me: and I plainly saw that he wished me to advise the total suppression of them, which advice he could afterwards turn into a request on my part, and thus give their contents the greater force when produced. I therefore said that I was too much interested in their contents to give my opinion on the subject, farther than that no extracts ought to be given, but that the whole should be laid before

Congress or suppressed entirely ; and of this he only was the proper judge ; that I was not the only person complained of in them. My late colleague Doctor Franklin was included with me in Mr. Izard's charges, and was, indeed, more severely treated than myself ; for that he had not charged me with any thing material, except haughtiness of temper and an incapacity for the station I had been in, whilst he charged the Doctor with breach of trust, and with a want of every principle either of virtue or of honor ; and that I could answer for my absent friend as fully as for myself ; that no specific charge could be brought by Mr. Izard, or by any other person, against either of us which we should decline or evade answering. On this he observed that it was rather difficult for him to resolve how to act. He knew Mr. Izard to be a very passionate man ; but he was his friend, and he really thought that to lay the whole of the letters before Congress would tend to hurt him in their opinion. To this I replied that, whatever the consequences might be, I must insist on the whole of them laid before Congress or wholly suppressed, and on this we parted. The next day, which was on the 19th, of Sept., I met Mr. Laurens as he came out of Congress, and without my making any inquiry he said, I believe Mr. Izard will never forgive me, for I have laid the whole of his letters before the House ; but I am confident that they cannot hurt either Doctor Franklin or yourself. It was not intended to attack the Doctor, or to improve the contents of those letters to his prejudice, although Mr. Izard had joined him with me, and though the Doctor had voluntarily joined himself with me, by assuring Congress that he had been an eye witness of my conduct, which he testified had been that "*of a faithful, able, and active Minister, who, to his knowledge, had in various ways done great and important services to my country.*" But the danger which called for those services, and which had I not rendered, the campaign of 1777, must have been the last on our part;

was now supposed to be over. No further great and important services were wanted from me, and the honors and emoluments of an embassy to a Foreign Court afforded strong temptations to more than one; and as it was supposed that I stood in the way, and must be still more so if Congress should as fully approve of my conduct in my late negotiations as the King of France, the French Minister, and Doctor Franklin had approved of it, it was the policy of those who meditated that ungrateful return for my services which I have since met with, to prevent any resolution being come to for approving or for disapproving of my conduct. To shew how little weight these letters really had with Congress, whilst it was given out that they were the cause of a delay in coming to any resolution on my conduct, Doctor Franklin, who was more severely accused in them than myself, was appointed Ambassador at the Court of Versailles. It was not thought prudent to attack both of us at the same time. It therefore became necessary for the purposes of the junto to satisfy him and his friends by this implied approbation of his conduct, when, from the Doctor's own declaration to Congress, had mine been blame-worthy, his was equally so, as it was by his advice, and with his knowledge and approbation, I had acted. As soon as I found that Mr. Izard's letters to Mr. Laurens had been read and ordered to lye on the table, I applied for copies of them, and after some delay they were given to me, attested by the Secretary. As Mr. Izard had not brought any specific charge against either Doctor Franklin or myself, in my letter to Congress in answer to his letters I confined myself to such general observations on my conduct as served to vindicate me from his general charges of having acted either haughtily or weakly in my department. As yet I had not heard of any complaint for my not having settled and closed the public accompts before my leaving France; nor could I imagine that this could ever be made the ground of a charge, or, rather,

of insinuations against me.; for it ought to be observed that from the first to this time Congress has not charged me with any one fault, or even error of conduct, and that in almost every letter to them I solicited them that if there were any charges against me I might be made acquainted with them and have the liberty of being heard in my defence; but this was uniformly refused, for my enemies well knew what must be the issue if my cause was then publicly heard and decided on. It served their purpose more effectually to have this method, by which my merits or demerits, my innocence or guilt, might be made apparent to all, waved and put off under various pretences, whilst without doors they complained of my not having brought over with me the public accompts settled, with vouchers for every expenditure, although they knew that the time allotted me for my return rendered it impossible; and, further, that this was as much the duty of my colleagues as it could be mine. The first intimation I had of anything of this kind was in a letter received by Congress from Mr. Arthur Lee, of which a copy was given me by their order. This letter was dated June 1st, 1778, and read in Congress on the 3d, of October, and the copy sent me a few days after. In this letter Mr. Lee complained of the unsettled state in which the public accompts were left by me, and of many bargains and contracts and expenditures as being extravagant, the making of which he laid to my account, justifying himself by observing that he had not signed the contracts or been made acquainted with the proceedings; but took no notice of what he well knew, that all the bargains and contracts of so much importance as to be committed to writing were signed by Doctor Franklin, as well as by me, and that he was at Berlin when those contracts were made, but that the orders on Mr. Grand, our banker, for the monies to answer those contracts, were, by much the greater part, signed by himself, as well as by Doctor Franklin and myself. The receipt of this letter was

the first hint given me that, an attack was to be made on me on the subject of the public accompts abroad, and it gave me no uneasiness, but, on the contrary, much satisfaction, for I did not at that time imagine it possible that any set of men in the world could act so inconsistently as to censure one who had been employed by them for not settling their accompts, and at the same time refused him an opportunity for doing it; to blame him for extravagant bargains, and in that way of misapplication of their monies, and deny him the liberty of being heard in his defence and explanation of his conduct. I therefore took up my pen and answered every part of Mr. Lee's letter in an address to Congress, dated the 12th, of October, in which I proved that Mr. Lee, at the time of my leaving Paris, had by him the accompt of all the receipts and disbursements of money on account of Congress which the banker gave him on that day, and of which, as I have already mentioned, I had given a duplicate to Congress; and as to extravagant bargains or contracts I expressed myself in these terms: "As to the bargains (speaking of their being extravagant and disadvantageous), I totally deny the fact, and am so confident of the contrary, that I will most cheerfully take every bargain made by me, or with my consent, in Europe—the contract with the Farmers General (which was at the time made for political purposes) excepted—on myself, and will be bound to abide by the profit or loss, leaving them to be judged by the ablest merchants in Europe or in America." And concluded a letter or address of twelve pages in folio in these terms: "I am sorry to be thus lengthy on so disagreeable a subject, and hope never to be obliged to resume it; for as in commercial transactions there are but two sides to an accompt, and every thing goes to the debit or credit, the folio for profit or loss, I most earnestly request that Doctor Franklin & Mr. Adams may be directed to see that a settlement of all those accompts may be made immediately on my return to Paris; and

as there has been a charge made by Mr. Lee of profusion and of extravagant contracts, that those gentlemen be authorized to submit the accompts, with every allegation of the kind, to the adjustment and determination of gentlemen of character and ability on the spot; and that orders may be given that whatever sum may be found due from the Commissioners, or from either of them, may be instantly paid into the hands of the banker of Congress, and that, in like manner, said banker may be ordered to pay whatever may be the balance to the person in whose favor the same shall be found. By this the truth will be demonstrated and justice done, which is all that I have ever wished for." This was the stile of all my subsequent letters and applications to Congress on this subject, and I am sorry to be obliged to add that this reasonable request, so often repeated in my letters before my leaving America the last time, and since my arrival in Europe, has not been complied with by Congress, although my accompts in detail have been more than four years before them. Mr. Lee, in his letter, to which I have referred, did not charge me with any embezzlement of public money, but with imprudent management, and Congress have not passed any censure on any part of my conduct, but have been uniformly silent on the subject. I have been particular in my address, yet I am obliged to repeat part of what I then said. My patience being exhausted by this silent neglect, I resolved to appeal to my fellow citizens at large, and on the 5th, of December addressed them in the public papers of Philadelphia. This address was so highly resented by Mr. Laurens, that, on the morning of its publication, he, from the chair, acquainted Congress that a certain paper, signed by me, contained reflections which ought to be noticed by the House; but a majority being against going into any enquiry, he abruptly quitted his chair and resigned his Presidency, and Mr. Jay was chosen in his place. Though Mr. Laurens still kept the object of a foreign embassy in view, out of his way to which, I was now

removed, yet he now intirely threw off the mask, and became my open and avowed enemy. From this time to my leaving Philadelphia, faction and disorder became so predominant in that city, that contending parties took arms and shed each other's blood in the street. [End of manuscript.]

Thomas Mss.

REPLY TO THE SLANDERS OF JOSEPH REED.

An open letter written by Silas Deane in 1784.

JOSEPH REED, Esq.

SIR,—In a late publication * of yours I find the following extraordinary assertions: “The leaders of opposition in the city being chiefly in the mercantile line, this calumny rose in that quarter. To me were ascribed the committees for regulating prices, inquiring into the sales of goods, &c. They were the effusions of honest but intemperate zeal to preserve the credit of the paper money. Time and experience have shewn their futility; but every person concerned in them will do me the justice to say I neither originated nor conducted them. In many respects I opposed them, as far as decency and prudence would admit. The most obnoxious of their proceedings, by which I mean calling upon individuals to answer publicly for their transactions of trade, was evidently the angry relique of that unfortunate quarrel which respected Mr. Deane. It was, in a great degree, an appeal to the public, by an individual, from the partiality and injustice of Congress, which permitted the former to leave America, the defaulter of unaccounted millions, and slanderer of every honest man who sought to detect his villainy, and guard the public from his robbery. His catastrophe also reflects much honour on those who supported him, and enabled him to

* Remarks on a Late Publication in the Independent Gazetteer; With a Short Address to the People of Pennsylvania, on the many Libels and Slanders which have lately appeared against the Author [Joseph Reed]. 8vo. Phil., 1783.

famish our armies, defraud our public creditors, and involve our best citizens, the widow, the orphan, and feeble old age, in all the distresses of want and woe. I cannot but believe my opportunities have given me good reason for the opinion, that, if the first supplies from France had been managed, not merely with common honesty, but without the most atrocious fraud, we should never have been that object of political horror, 'a bankrupt republic—a prostitute among virtuous matrons—a by-word and reproach among the nations.' Posterity will hardly believe that the patrons and supporters of this man, now also a detected traitor, are basking in the sunshine of wealth and power, while his enemies, and the friends of their defrauded country, have not influence enough to make a doorkeeper."

I have been for several years past so inured to obloquy, and so thoroughly acquainted with your character, that the above extravagant falsehoods excited no other sensations in my mind than those of the most sincere contempt for the ungrateful and unprincipled author of them; and I should have passed them by with that silent neglect with which I have treated many other calumnies, did not that justice which I owe to truth, to the public, and to those individuals whom you have basely attempted to stab through my side, require me to come forward, and, by a simple and impartial relation of well-known facts, expose to the world your ingratitude and malevolence towards an unfortunate and absent man, from whom you cannot pretend to have ever received either provocation or injury, and to whom you have acknowledged yourself indebted, not only for monies advanced on your order, the payment of which you have to this hour evaded, but for disinterestedly interposing when a man then and lately high in office—then your mortal enemy, now your bosom friend and confident—had taken the most effectual measures to blast your character, and to ruin you. My interposition at the time saved you; you acknowl-

edged the obligation which you lay under to me for this seasonable act of friendship, and have now exhibited to the world a sample of your method for canceling obligations of every kind. Your sole object appears to be to justify your conduct whilst in the army, and in your administration whilst President of Pennsylvania; and to do this, you, from want of better means, labor to cast an odium on the gentlemen and merchants in Philadelphia, who were in opposition to you during your presidency, and on the members of Congress in 1779 and 1780, who neither esteemed you personally, or approved of your measures. Uniformly violent, and directed solely to the ruin of every one who ventured to question or object to your government, it is somewhat singular that in your defence of your military character against the charges brought forward by General Cadwallader, and of your civil, reprobated by your fellow citizens, you should introduce a man who never had any concern with your conduct in either. Of the former I know nothing but from the report of others, and they are so contradictory to each other that I never formed any judgment, either in your favor or against you. Of the latter, that is of your civil administration, I was, it is true, so unfortunate as to be a spectator; and though I never interested myself in the parties of the day, you became my most inveterate enemy, only because that you supposed those gentlemen who opposed you were in the habit of intimacy and friendship with me. I was then a witness of your violence and tyranny, and of the dreadful extremities to which the deluded multitude were urged by your artifice and intrigues, and entertained at the time the same opinion of your conduct which the citizens of Pennsylvania have, on cool reflection, unanimously concurred to form on the subject, and which will undoubtedly remain the same to posterity. But why have you chosen me in particular, and in preference to all others, to make the standard of every thing that is dishonest, treacherous,

and base? Some men paint the devil in the most horrid colors which their imagination can suggest, not so much with the view of rendering him the object of detestation and abhorrence, as to render their personal enemies odious by affirming that they are his friends, and resemble him. In this manner you have treated me. Any other person would have served your purpose just as well, had he been intimate with those gentlemen in Congress and in Pennsylvania against whom the rancor of your disappointed ambition is levelled. You profess yourself a friend to the trading interest, and have the effrontery to declare that you were, whilst in power, the friend and encourager of commerce; yet you confess that the leaders of opposition to you were in the mercantile line. Strange infatuation! That merchants whose great object is the advancement of their interest should have been so blind as to mistake you, their pretended friend and patron, for their greatest enemy; and, what is stranger still, they remain to this hour in the same opinion of you, and of your conduct whilst in power; and to be revenged on them, and to cut them off from all hopes of a reconciliation with you, and a restoration to your friendship and patronage, you have represented them as the friends and supporters of one who, according to your character of him, must have been the worst man that ever lived—a public defaulter or robber of millions, a slanderer of every honest man who sought to detect his villainy and to guard the public against his robbery. You say that they supported this man, and enabled him to furnish our armies, defraud our public creditors, and involve our best citizens, the widow, the orphan, and feeble old age, in all the distresses of want and woe; and you charge Congress with partiality and injustice in having permitted so great a criminal to leave America. No one can suppose that a man guilty of such enormous crimes, and of such public notoriety, and attended with such tragical consequences, could have found patrons and supporters in the city of Phila-

delphia, and have induced the Congress to be guilty of injustice and partiality in his favor without bribery and corruption and the distribution of a great part of his millions of plunder and embezzlement among them; and this being necessarily presumed, on the maxim "*that the partaker is as bad as thief*," your accusation of the gentlemen and merchants of Philadelphia, and of the members of Congress, comes home to them. No one can be so simple as not to perceive which is the object you ultimately mean to strike. But though they cannot be in want of such defence as I can afford them, yet I think it my duty to defend myself against your illiteral and outrageous attacks, and thereby do justice to their characters, as well as to my own. You have charged me with speculation and treachery, with robbing the public of millions, slandering all honest men, famishing our armies, defrauding our public creditors, involving the best citizens in all the distresses of want and woe; of having corrupted the gentlemen and merchants of Philadelphia to patronize and support me in my crimes, and Congress to be guilty of partiality and injustice on my account; that I have made my country a bankrupt republic, an object of political horror, &c. ; and that I am now a detected traitor. Now if, on the one hand, you can support any one of these charges against me, or if, on the other, I can prove that they are every one and all of them totally false and malicious, you or I must sink even lower in the estimation of an impartial public than we at present are in each other's. But before I proceed to the greater, it is proper that we settle the smaller and more personal account between us; it refers to and may help to explain the former. You must remember that our first acquaintance was made in September, 1774, when I attended the first Congress as a delegate for Connecticut, previous to which I had never seen or heard anything of you; and our acquaintance was then so very slight that but for the serious contest which ensued it would, in all probability, have

been a mere transitory acquaintance, and scarcely remembered by either of us. When I arrived at Philadelphia in the May following, after the commencement of hostilities, our acquaintance was renewed and advances made towards an intimacy. I was in the civil, and you was then entering on the military line. I believe that we had not the least distrust of each other in any respect, but, on the contrary, as great a proportion of mutual confidence as is usual on so short an acquaintance between men. In the month of July you attended the General to Cambridge, where I saw you a few weeks after, during a visit which I made to his Excellency at headquarters. I confess that the opportunities I then had of conversing with you, and the good understanding and harmony which then appeared to prevail in the camp in general, and in particular between my old friends of New England and you, confirmed me in a good opinion, and even in an esteem for you. Early in the next winter you returned to Philadelphia, and we saw each other as often as the hurry and perplexity of the business of that time would permit, and nothing occurred to check my increasing good opinion of you. What could have passed at the time in a mind so very dark and deceitful as yours has since appeared to be I do not even conjecture; but I remember that the only symptom of insincerity which appeared was your seizing on every occasion that fairly presented to make me compliments on the liberality and freedom of my sentiments, which you used to say was so seldom to be met with in my countrymen (the New Englanders). In January, 1776, I undertook a voyage to France as Political and Commercial Agent for Congress, charged to solicit supplies from private merchants on credit, and such aid and assistance from the Court as the circumstances of the times would admit. It was necessary that my destination should be kept secret, and for this purpose I set out privately, without taking leave of any of my friends or acquaintance, except of the Committee who gave me my

commission and instructions, in which, among other directions, I was ordered to correspond with Mr. A. Lee, then the private agent and correspondant of Congress at London, and to send to Doctor Bancroft and obtain a personal interview with him. In obedience to my orders, I wrote to Mr. Lee a few days after my arrival at Paris, and in his answer I was surprized to find that he pointed you out as a person in correspondence with the enemy, and of a character dangerous to the liberties of America, and requested me to transmit this information to Congress. Much about the same time Mr. Carmichael shewed me a note in Mr. Lee's handwriting, addressed to Congress, and inclosed in the cover of a pocket dictionary, in which the same general charge was brought by Mr. Lee against you, and which Mr. Carmichael, who had left England with the view of returning to America, had promised to deliver. I then, for the first time, became acquainted with the suspicious temper of Mr. Lee, which, with my prejudices in your favor, induced me to suppress the information sent me, and to persuade Mr. Carmichael to do the same with his; and in my next letter to Mr. Lee I expostulated with him on the subject, and requested that if he had any solid grounds for the charges against you that he would transmit them to Congress, but by no means to send on any thing which might rest only on suspicion, propagated on hearsay or no one knew how. By this means nothing of Mr. Lee's suspicions or charges against you was heard of in America until my arrival in 1778, and but for this they would have been laid before Congress about the close of the unfortunate campaign of 1776, a critical period with the public, and, as it is said, peculiarly such with you personally. In February, 1777, your brother arrived with dispatches from Congress to the Commissioners. He brought me a letter from you recommending him to my good offices. He brought with him a letter of credit, or rather a bill, on Mr. Rumsey, from Mr. Bayard, for fifty pounds sterling. With this sum and

the money which the Commissioners might allow him for bringing the dispatches, you proposed that he should remain some time in France to acquire the language and a knowledge of the commerce of the country. Unless, indeed, that you expected that the Commissioners would have been very liberal of the public money, the means with which the young man was furnished were very inadequate to the end proposed. But, unfortunately, Mr. Rumsey had sailed for America before the arrival of your brother, and had not left any one to transact business of this nature on his account. To relieve him from the distress occasioned by this circumstance, I gave him the money and took his receipt on the back of Mr. Bayard's bill, or letter of credit on Mr. Rumsey, not in the least doubting your honor to refund me with interest, even if I had taken no security whatever. From the arrival of Mr. Lee in Paris, and his being joined in the Commission, Doctor Franklin, as well as myself, met with difficulties from him, and on his account, and had good reason to believe that he improved every opportunity in his letters to America to misrepresent our conduct, and it gave us no small anxiety that parties appeared to run high in Congress and in the army; but never having heard that you had taken any part in them, I returned to America in July, 1778, strongly prejudiced in your favor, and with a consciousness of having acted a friendly part towards you while abroad. On my first interview with you I found nothing to contradict my opinion. On my giving you a general account of all my proceedings, and a particular one of what more immediately affected you, you expressed great satisfaction with the part I had acted, and in acknowledging your obligation to me you said: "Had those cursed suspicions been permitted to have come on to America they would, as I was then circumstanced, have entirely ruined me." I did not at the time understand what you referred to, nor did I enquire; but as those charges must have arrived about the time when

you are said to have been in treaty with Count Donop, your expression is easily understood. I mentioned my having advanced money to your brother, which you then promised me should be repaid as soon as you could purchase a bill. I then found you, to all appearance, on perfectly good terms with those gentlemen in Philadelphia against whom you now inveigh so bitterly.

It is true that you were then on bad terms with General Arnold, and advised me not to lodge in his house; but as he then, and long after, stood high in the opinion of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, of Congress, and with the public at large, I thought it somewhat singular that you should wish me to espouse your resentments. Soon after your election to the Presidency of Pennsylvania you came to an open rupture with the principal gentlemen in Philadelphia, with a number of the members of Congress, and many others, among whom you included myself. You must recollect that on the 6th, of February, 1779, on the anniversary of signing the treaty, you told me at the City Tavern, that whilst I continued to associate with Mr. Morris, Col. Duer, Mr. Wilson, and some others, that the delegates in Congress for Pennsylvania never should vote in my favor, and that I never must expect to have my accompts settled so long as I remained attached to those men. To which I replied that I did not, whilst Pennsylvania was under the government and direction which it then was, expect, or scarcely wish, for the votes of its delegates; that I asked not for favors from any man, or set of men, but for justice only, and for a full examination and settlement of all my public transactions. Soon after this, being in want of money, I reminded you of the sum advanced by me to your brother. I have answered the letters which passed between us on that occasion, from which gentlemen of every profession, as well as merchants, will be able to judge of your principles of honor in money matters. From the time

of my leaving America till I met with your pamphlet against General Cadwallader, I have heard nothing from you ; and though I repeatedly sent my brother orders to force you by a legal process to the payment of what you owe me, not one of my letters reached him, though they were safely landed in Philadelphia. I have now done with what has more immediately passed between us personally, and shall take up the great and heavy charges which you have brought against me.

The part which I took in the beginning of the dispute with Great Britain, and my conduct, both in the General Assembly of Connecticut and in the first and second Congress, to the time of my leaving America for France, are well known ; and the basest and most malevolent of my enemies never attempted even to insinuate any thing to my prejudice. I sailed from Philadelphia in April, 1776, and returned from France to that city in July, 1778, and since that period have not had either the money of the public, or any of its affairs, entrusted to me. In this period, therefore, viz., from my arrival in France, in June, 1776, to my leaving it, in April, 1778, I must have committed the robbery of millions with which you charge me. From your stiling me a defaulter for unaccounted millions, one ignorant of the real state of our finances and credit at that period must be led to suppose me in the situation of a President of Finance in France, or of that of the First Lord of the Treasury in Great Britain, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, or Paymaster General of the Forces, with the treasures of the most opulent nations in Europe at my disposal ; and even in that situation I must have improved my time well to have embezzled millions in so short an administration. Millions is a term which may answer to any sum within the powers of figures, but cannot be applied to a sum under two. I am content to take the lowest ; but you do not say whether you mean millions of pounds, or of dollars, or of livres ; but though when

a man mentions a certain sum without specifying the currency, by the construction of common law and of common sense he is to be understood to mean the currency of the state in which he is, yet I am willing to understand it in this case to mean simply livres. Two millions of livres in less than two years is enough, in all conscience, to satisfy any one, except a first Asiatic plunderer; and if you can support this assertion of yours, or if I cannot make it appear from the most full and demonstrative evidence to be totally false and groundless, I will submit to every other charge which you have brought, or may bring, against me, and to the punishment due to them; but if I can prove that, instead of having embezzled millions of the public monies, I sacrificed both my time and private fortune in the service of my country, and have hitherto solicited in vain for justice to my character and fortune, all your other charges, of famishing the army, of ruining public credit, &c., must fall to the ground, and sink you lower, if it be possible, than you already are in the eyes of all men of honest and honorable principles. Your charge of my being a detected traitor merits a distinct consideration. In January, 1776, the time of my accepting the proposals made me to go for France, it is well known that Congress had no funds in Europe, nor the prospect of acquiring any. As a body they had no agent or correspondent there, except Mr. Lee at London, to whom the Secret Committee of Correspondence, appointed but in December, 1775, had wrote desiring him to correspond with them and give them intelligence of the state of things, as far as he could do it with safety. None of the members of Congress had at that time any correspondence in France, or on the continent of Europe, except in the mercantile line. Nine or ten months only had elapsed since the sudden and unexpected commencement of hostilities, and in Europe it was not then regarded as a lasting and serious contest, which was to end in the independancy of America;

nor in fact was it so regarded in general in America, not even in Congress. Every one must recollect the destitute state in which we were at the sudden beginning of the war. Without an army, without arms or ammunition, or magazines of any kind, and without money to procure them. The Nonimportation Act of October, 1774, which took place in December, had prevented our merchants from having full stores of goods as usual on hand, whence our forces might at least have been clothed. The Nonexportation Act, which took place in September, had stripped the whole continent of ships and of seamen, and consequently for a time totally suspended commerce, except the expiring remains of it internally. Congress had therefore no resource but in paper, and to this they applied very early, and at first with so sparing and cautious a hand that their first bills passed equivalent to gold and silver but in America only; and it was early foreseen that without the exportation of our produce or any funds for an early redemption of our bills, there must soon be a redundancy of paper in the market, and that it must share the fate of every other merchantable article in the same predicament and fall in value, and of this strong symptoms began to appear early in 1776. Yet the mistaken ideas of some men, who supposed that a suspension of our exportations would starve our enemies into terms, kept our commerce suspended, and the unsettled state of our respective governments would not admit of raising anything by taxes. These causes opened the flood gates for that torrent of emission of paper with which the continent soon became deluged, and these causes alone are sufficient to account for the loss of credit and the public bankruptcy which ensued in October, 1775. Congress appointed a Committee of Commerce to procure supplies, and empowered them to draw on their treasury for monies to purchase either produce or bills to be sent abroad, and to contract with merchants in different parts of the continent to receive the

money or bills, and to furnish the supplies called for. Contracts were soon come into with some in almost every part of the continent, from Charleston to Portsmouth. The contractors who had thus received the paper in advance were to conduct the business on the account and risque of Congress, and were allowed five per cent. commission for their purchases in America, and five per cent. on those made in foreign parts. In November they appointed a Committee of Secret Correspondence, and about the same time contracted with Messrs Morris, Alsop, Lewis, and myself to furnish goods suitable for the Indian trade, to the amount of £40,000 sterling; to allow them five per cent. on the purchase of produce, bills, &c.; to remit to Europe to that amount, and five per cent. on the purchase of the goods in Europe. And the above contractors agreed with me to undertake the voyage to Europe, and to purchase the goods, and for which I was to have five per cent., and they to take the five per cent. in America. The terms were precisely the same as those agreed on with every other contractor. Soon after this the Committee of Secrecy, two of which, Doctor Franklin and Mr. Morris, were also of the Commercial Committee, applied to me to go to France as the Commercial and Political Agent of Congress, which I agreed to, and made preparations for my voyage with the requisite caution and secrecy. Bills on Europe had by this time become so scarce, and the Continental paper so plenty, that the contractors were unable to furnish me with but a small part of the £40,000 sterling which I was to lay out, and that chiefly in bills afterwards protested. The Committee of Secrecy agreed to bear my expences, and that I should trust to Congress to reward me for my time expended in their political concerns. They also commissioned and instructed me to purchase, on the credit of Congress, 100 pieces of brass cannon, 25,000 fusees, cloathing for 25,000 men, &c., as by the annexed piece, No. —, will appear; and gave me a bill for £600 sterling towards

my expences, which was also protested as soon as presented, and never paid. Having met with a misfortune at sea in my first attempt, and obliged to return, it was not until the beginning of April that I sailed a second time, in a vessel bound for Bermuda, and here begins my trust of public money. I was entered on an important and expensive, as well as hazardous, undertaking. I had not, excepting the bill for £600 above mentioned, one shilling of the public monies or effects in my hands; and of the joint contractors with me for the £40,000 sterling I had in bills to the amount of, and an order to receive the avails of a corn and provision cargo in the sloop in which I embarked for Bermuda. This any one who will take the trouble to examine will find was the whole amount of the funds in my hands to execute the important commissions which I was charged. Small as they were, it lies on me to shew that I neither embezzled any part of them, or of the trifling remittances afterwards made me. On my arrival at Bermuda the cargo was delivered to Mr. Tucker, the consignee, who sold it and returned his account to Mr. Morris, after putting into my hands the sum of —, Bermuda currency, and a bill for £100 sterling. The sum he paid me was in foreign coin, and on my arrival at Bordeaux I delivered the money to Messrs. Delaps, and with it the bills to be sent on to England for acceptance and payment, and he furnished me with money for my expences in the interval. To this period, viz., to my arrival at Bordeaux, I cannot be charged with either being a defaulter or extravagant; for the whole of my charges to the public for the expences of my preparation for the voyage, and at Bermuda expences for five months, I have only charged at the moderate sum of — sterling, or — livres of France. From this period to the present moment I never received one shilling in direct remittances to me from the contractors, nor one shilling from Congress by any remittances of theirs from America, or made on their accounts.

Whatever monies afterwards came to my hands on account of the contractors passed thro' the hands of Mr. Delap; and his accompt of them, hereto annexed, will shew to what amount they were. The monies which I received on account of Congress were thro' the hands of Mr. Grand, and a trifle through Mr. Solier, bankers. What they were those accompts will shew. To finish the affair of the contract, in which I was entitled to a clear five per cent. on £40,000 sterling, it is necessary to add that the unfortunate situation into which the affairs of America were plunged soon after my sailing in 1776, discouraged the contractors from attempting to execute their part of it in America, and they returned the money which they had received on account of it, with the accompt of their disbursements, into the public treasury and office, and left me to execute, in the best manner I could, and as far as I was able, the important commission I was entrusted with. I passed sometime at Bordeaux, fondly hoping that I should be able to obtain a credit for some part of the goods wanted; but the news of our misfortunes in Canada, and of the great armaments destined against New York arriving, gave such a discouraging appearance to our affairs that it was in vain to attempt any thing in that way, and in July I arrived in Paris, and set myself without delay to execute the great objects of my Political and Commercial Agency. An account of my appointment, and of my arrival at Bordeaux, had preceded me, and I was expected at Paris with some impatience on the part of the Minister, who was anxious to learn, as far as possible, what was the real state and views or prospects of Congress in the contest, to which the Court of France now began to give some attention. I therefore lost no time in waiting on Mr. de Vergennes. I must observe that the Count could not speak English, and I was almost equally ignorant of the French language, but by the assistance of an interpreter I informed him generally of my commission and the objects of it. In a few days

I waited on him again, and then, beginning to be apprehensive that I should wholly fail of the objects of my commission through want of funds or credit, I urged, as strenuously as I thought prudent, for assistance in some shape or other from France, but was told that I could not expect any thing of the kind; that the treaties with Great Britain would be inviolably adhered to by his Most Christian Majesty; that though the Court might be well disposed toward us, it was not possible that any aid or countenance could be given consistent with the faith of treaties, which would not on any account be violated on the part of his Majesty or his Ministers; but that the ports of France were open and commerce free for everything, except for warlike stores, the purchasing and shipping of which could not be openly permitted, though it might be winked at if conducted with prudence. Thus, though I was received with great politeness and civility by the Count, I obtained no encouragement for to hope for success from any solicitations at Court. I then turned to examine and judge of what could be done with the funds and credit on which I might rely. It was then six months after my engagement with the Secret and with the Commercial Committees of Congress. The former had, indeed, empowered me to pledge the faith of Congress for the fulfilment of my engagements for the supplies which they had authorized me to purchase. But though they had also promised to make early and punctual remittances, I could not expect any thing from them until I should actually have made purchases on their accounts & notified them of it. When they gave me the bill for £600 they promised, indeed, to make me further remittances for my support as the agent of Congress; but I well knew that nothing further could, under any circumstances, be expected immediately from them; and even the bill given me for my expences was about this time returned under protest. Mr. Morris and the other contractors had given me letters of credit to several houses in Europe: in France, to that of Mr.

Delap; and their letter, together with the bills and money before mentioned, which I put into his hands, induced him to supply me with money at Bordeaux for my expences, and for my journey to Paris, and to give me a general letter of credit on his bankers, which letter I could not in honor make use of beyond the funds known to be in his hands. I chartered a sloop at Bermudas to bring me to France, and to return as a packet to America with such goods as I might have ready for her. She was left by me in Mr. Delap's care, and I wished to send her back, but was unwilling to send her empty. Though I was crowded with offers of service and of being supplied with goods, yet all the offers terminated in an expectation that I had wherewith to pay in hand, or that I could give bills well indorsed; and on this point every proposal terminated, for I could not do either. Except my letter of credit to Mr. Delap's house, I had none that I could make any use of. I had no letters either of credit or introduction to any one at Paris, the great theatre I was to act on, except a letter from Doctor Franklin to Mr. Le Roy, Director of the Academy of Science, and to Mr. Dubourg, a celebrated physician, both of them men of real worth, but without any connection or influence of any weight out of the line of their profession. My situation was really as critical and embarrassed as can be easily imagined. With a commission of the utmost importance to every thing interesting and dear to my country or to myself, I found myself without funds or credit, and without patronage, and was at the same time a stranger, both to the language, manners, and customs of the country in which I was, and, as the season advanced, was every day distressed with the accounts which came from my country, of the unfortunate turn which our affairs had taken. Thus situated, I presume that it is more surprizing that I did so much, than that I attempted to do any thing. But though I was not inclined to despond, yet I must have failed but for my acquaintance and connections with Mr. de Beaumarchais. Much has been said, both

in Europe and in America, on this subject. It has been boldly asserted that he was employed by the Court of Versailles, and furnished with money to assist us, and that it was from the first, and even before any application of mine, intended and resolved by the Court of France to assist us with stores; and that Mr. Beaumarchais was employed merely to execute such resolution, so as to prevent the Court of London from any knowledge of this proceeding of the Court of Versailles; but that all the supplies furnished by Mr. Beaumarchais, or through him, were designed as a free gift to the United States, but that by a corrupt agreement between him and me it was converted into a debt. This extravagant assertion, which has had so many changes rung upon it, rests solely on the pretended, or real, suspensions of certain individuals, distant at the time from the scene of the transaction, and unacquainted with almost every circumstance attending it. And though it has been repeatedly contradicted by the Court of France, who were said to have furnished the money by Mr. Beaumarchais, who purchased and sent out the supplies, and by Congress, who received them, yet all are insufficient to silence my calumniators and slanderers on the subject. My acquaintance with this gentleman commenced in July, 1776, and my agreement with him for the supplies was made soon after, as appears from our correspondence on the subject, which is prefixed to his account now in the possession of Congress. Mr. Beaumarchais proposed at first to give but eight months credit, but finally came to twelve on my promise that whatever remittances could be obtained earlier should be made to him in part payment. Unwilling after all to run my country so deeply into debt to an individual, though for articles indispensably necessary in the support and prosecution of the war, as a failure of remittances in season might greatly embarrass, or even ruin, his house and bring complaints, and perhaps reproaches, on me from that quarter; and being informed at the same time that there were in the stores of France a surplus of brass

cannon, of fusees, &c., to the full amount of my orders, I applied to the Count de Vergennes for liberty to purchase them on the account and credit of Congress, but was refused. I then prayed that Mr. Beaumarchais, Mr. Chaumont, or some other merchants might be permitted to purchase them on their own credit, with the express understanding that the Court should not call on them for the money until they received it from Congress. This was also refused me; and I was told that the Court could know nothing of Mr. Beaumarchais, or of any other individual in that way. Situated as I well knew my country to be as to cannon, fusees, cloathing, and ammunition, and the impossibility of continuing the war without supplies of them in season for the next campaign, I had no other alternative left me. I must comply with the proposals made me by Mr. Beaumarchais, or leave my country to submit to the enemy through the want of arms and stores. No other person offered to supply me, but for immediate payment or unquestionable security in Europe, neither of which was in my power to give. And even the terms offered by Mr. de Beaumarchais were as reasonable as any made me, accompanied with the before mentioned conditions. Mr. de Beaumarchais had at that time many friends at Court. The late Prime Minister, Mons. Maurepas, was his immediate patron. And if the assertion that the supplies sent out under the name and agency of Mr. de Beaumarchais were designed as a present, neither he nor any of the ministers could have been ignorant of it at the time: and though they might have concealed it from me, yet it is impossible that the Court of France, in which Mr. de Beaumarchais had his full share of enemies, as well as friends, would have permitted him to convert their generosity towards America, in the hour of her greatest distress, to his private profit, and appropriate it as a debt due to him personally. When Mr. Gerard, with whom the greatest part of all our negotiations were had, from my first arrival in France to the signing of the treaty of Paris,

was appointed Minister to the United States, Monsr. Maurepas, still Prime Minister, directed him to urge for speedy remittances to Mons. de Beaumarchais, it must be remembered. It stands on the journals of Congress that when, in 1779, in order to serve the purposes of a faction and cabal against me, this communication was first thrown out in the public papers, Mr. Gerard complained of it to Congress, who unanimously declared that it was totally groundless, and soon after voted the thanks of the United States to Mr. de Beaumarchais, in which they say he had faithfully and generously served them, and merited the thanks of a New World; they give him an account of the difficulties which had prevented their making remittances in season; voted that a large sum in bills on their Commissioners at Paris should be immediately sent him, and promised to pay him interest on the debt due to him. I have said thus much on this subject to shew your matchless effrontery in reviving an insinuation on a subject long since examined and settled, and declared by all concerned in it to be as groundless as in its origin, and at present it is malicious. But this can by no means affect me or my conduct. The funds on which the supplies contracted for by me with Mons. de Beaumarchais were purchased and sent to America, were never committed to my care or management; nor had I the least power or control over them. My department was to give invoices of the articles wanted; to contract for them on the best terms I could obtain; to see that they were of good quality and justly charged; and to exert myself in dispatching ships with them to America. I have already shewn what my funds were on my arrival in France; and from that period to the arrival of Doctor Franklin, in the month of December following, I received no addition to them but what was made to the house of Messrs. Delaps, and was by them passed to the credit of the Commissioners; not to mine. The whole of the monies which came to my hands directly, or were lodged with the Messrs. Delaps for me, from January, 1776,

to January, 1777, one month after Doctor Franklin joined me and became acquainted with my transactions, amounted to £4,514 13s. 6d. sterling, or 103,199, 11, 11 livres of France, out of which, after the deduction of my necessary expences, I had to make large disbursements. The sloop in which I made my passage to Bordeaux was to be sent back on the public account, and I was unwilling, though she was but a small vessel, that she should return empty, or at least that she should return without dispatches from me to the Committee, with an account of my situation and proceedings. As soon, therefore, as I had contracted with Mr. de Beaumarchais for the supplies, I determined to dispatch her with my letters to the Committee, informing them of my proceedings, and urging them to make early and capital remittances on account of my engagements for the public. Mr. Chaumont informed me that he had a quantity of saltpetre on hand, which he would sell for ready money at 10 sous, or 5 pence, per pound. Knowing how much this article was wanted in America for the powder mills, and that it had been purchased by Congress at the enormous price of six shillings, Philadelphia currency, per pound, I judged it the best article which I could send out in that sloop, which I was impatient to dispatch with my letters. I therefore ventured, notwithstanding the scantiness of my funds, to engage the money for 50 tons of it, and for as large a proportion of sulphur as would serve to make it into powder. The whole amounting to 52,271, 18, 6 livres, I drew on Messrs. Delaps, for they paid my bills and the expences of the sloop, &c., and dispatched her for America, but she had the misfortune to be taken on the coast. Agreeable to the orders I had received from the Committee, I remitted money to Doctor Bancroft at London, to enable him to take a journey to Paris; the amount was only £30 sterling. My business soon became too much for one person, and I invited Mr. Carmichael to take lodgings in the same hotel with me, and to assist me. The expence of his

chambers and board were something, though as small a compensation as I could any way think of making him. In the month of October I proposed to him to make a journey through Holland, as far as Berlin, to acquaint myself, through him, with the disposition of those countries towards us, and what prospects there were of our doing anything in that quarter, either in a political or commercial line, in favor of America. Besides the money advanced him towards his expences, I gave him a bill on Mr. John Hodgson for £184 sterling, which money he received, and applied the whole of it to his expences and disbursements. Mr. Chaumont proposed to sell me 2,000 barrels of powder at the low price of 18 sous, that is 9 pence, per lb., and to ship it at a very moderate freight and insurance to Martinico, to care of Mr. Bingham, the agent of Congress, and that he would take my bills on Messrs. Delaps. Sensible that Messrs. Delaps had now very little left in hand on my account, I hesitated, and explained to Mr. Chaumont my objections, which he so far removed by proposing that Mr. Delap should accept the bills and give new paper for them, which might be circulated until my remittances from America would enable me to pay them. The desire I had to embrace every opportunity to supply the army of the United States made me so imprudent on this occasion as to accept his offer; and the powder, amounting to 188,729, 15 livres was shipped for Martinico on account of Congress; but when I acquainted Messrs. Delaps with my having drawn on them, they returned me for answer that they could not accept my bills; that, indeed, they were willing to be 8 or 10,000 livres in advance, but could not hazard so large a sum on the uncertain prospect of remittances. My bills were accordingly returned on my hands, without a formal protest, indeed, but not the less to my extreme embarrassment. I was liable to be declared a bankrupt, and to be deprived of my personal liberty. In this distress I prevailed on Mr. Chaumont to accept of my notes of hand, payable to order in three months from the date.

Messrs. Delaps refusal of my bills was kept a secret, and Mr. Chaumont by that means was able to negotiate my notes for money, which was, in effect, putting me out of his hands over into those of others; but his necessities for money obliged him to do it, and I had only the time of three months to expect remittances in, to save me from public bankruptcy, and it will be shewn immediately that I had not in that time any remittances made me. But it is first proper to state my money transactions to this time, which I will do in the way of narrative, &c., &c.

Total amount of bills and cash received April, 1776, of Messrs. Livingston, Morris, Alsop, and Lewis, joint contractors with Silas Deane for purchasing goods, &c., for account and risque of Congress to the amount of £40,000 sterling in Europe, including the monies and bills received in Bermuda for the same account.

	Sterling.
William Beane's bill, dated 29th Jan., at 30 days sight, on Sargents, Chambers & Co. of London, indorsed to Willing & Morris.....	£125 0
J. H. Norton's bill of 5th of April, at 60 days sight, to Joseph Hornsby, on John Norton & Co., London.....	150 0 0
William —, 19th July, 1775, to Thomas Johnson, Jur., on Wallace, Davidson & Johnson of London.....	100 0 0
Richard Hanson, of 22d June, 1775, at 60 days sight, on Sir Lionel Lyde, Bart., & Co. of London.....	100 0 0
Archibald Buchanan of Maryland, five bills of 25th, 27th, 29th, and 30th July, 1775, at 30 days sight, to Isaac Webster, on Wallace, Davidson & Johnston of London, for £100 each.....	500 0 0
Curson & Seton, 10 bills of 26th Feb., at 30 days sight, to Isaac Moses, on Quarles Norries of London, £100 each.....	1,000 0 0
Philip Livingston & Biggs of Bristol, at 40 days sight.....	400 0 0
	<hr/>
	£2,375 0 0

Amount of bills received at Philadelphia :

At Bermuda received of Henry Tucker, Esq., a bill of 30th of April, at 30 days sight, on William Manning of London for..... 87 19 7½
Ditto, one bill on Mr. Jennings of St. Eustatia..... 100 0 0

187 19 7½

Received in cash of Henry Tucker, Esqr., on account of Willing & Morris as follows : 763 new dollars, 253 old do., 7 old Col. pieces do., 4 half dollars, 50 new quarter do., 25 old ditto, 2 old peices of eight, 10 new do., 1 Col. half do., 4 johannes, 220 half do.; and the following pieces of gold wrapped up in paper, and the value in Bermuda currency marked on them : 1 piece of gold wt., 15 wt., 7½ grains ; 1 half johannes, short weight ; 1 piece marked £4, 18, 3 ; 1 piece marked 15, 3 ; 1 piece marked £2, 8, 9 ; 1 piece marked £3, 12, 6 ; 1 piece marked £4, 18, 0 ; 1 piece marked £3, 12, 9 ; 1 piece marked £3, 12, 0 ; 1 piece marked £4, 4, 7½ ; 1 piece marked £3, 14, 6 ; 1 piece marked £2, 8, 0 ; 1 piece marked £1, 4, 3 ; 1 piece marked 13, 9 ; 1 piece marked 13, 9 ; 1 piece marked £0, 12, 6 ; 1 piece marked £0, 12, 0 ; 1 piece marked £4, 19, 0 ; 1 piece marked £4, 18, 9 ; 1 piece marked £4, 18, 6 ; 1 piece marked £4, 17, 9 ; 1 piece marked £1 6, 6 ; 1 piece marked £1, 4, 6 ; 1 piece marked £1, 3, 9 ; 1 piece marked £0, 15, 6.

The whole of the silver and gold was received by Messrs. S. & J. H. Delaps, and sold as per their account rendered for 16,285, 11, 5 livres, equal to at 10½ the livre.....

712 10 1

Total of bills and money received by Silas Deane as aforesaid..... £3,275 9 8½

This sum of £3,275, 9, 8½ sterling, with an order from Messrs. Livingston, Lewis, and Alsop, on Parr,

Buckley & Co. of Lisbon, for the neat produce of a cargo of wheat and flour, sent them in the sloop Samuel, John Hodge, master, made the whole funds put into the hands or in the power of S. Deane to execute the aforesaid contracts :

Messrs. Franklin, Harrison, Jay, Dickinson, and Morris, the Committee of Secret Correspondence for Congress, gave to S. Deane, towards his expences in Europe, as the political and commercial agent of Congress, a bill of Ringgold & Hemmsly, of Chester Town, at 60 days sight, on Seargents, Chambers & Co., of London, indorsed to Willing & Morris, for the sum of.....	£600	0	0
The above sum brought down.....	3,275	9	8½
Total amount.....	£3,875	9	8½

To which is to be added the sales of logwood brought over in Capt. Morgan from Bermuda, in the sloop in which S. Deane took his passage, amounting to 2,441, 6, 9 livres, or	£101	16	1½
Amount brought down	3,875	9	8½
	£3,977	5	9½

The bill on Sergeants & Chambers, given me by the Secret Committee for.....	600	0	0
was never paid.			
The bill of H. Tucker, Esq., on Wm. Manning, was protested for non-payment; afterwards it was recovered, but was of no immediate use.....	87	19	7½
The bill on Mr. Jennings of St. Eustatia, of	100	0	0
could not be negociated, but was finally recovered.			
Balance of effective funds in the hands of S. Deane, June, 1776.....	3,189	6	2½
	£3,977	5	9½

Messrs. Livingston, Alsop, Morris, and Lewis made further remittances to Mr. Delap, to enable Mr. Deane to execute the contract; but the Congress nor their Secret Committee ever made him any, for the execution, or the expences of his political and commercial commission.

The following is the state of the remittances made by Messrs. Livingston, Alsop, &c., to Mr. Delap; also the state of the application of the money.

Messrs. Livingston, Lewis, and Alsop made the following remittances to Mr. Delap:

Oct. 11th, 1776, in F. M., bill of 13th April, at 30 days, on David Jennings, £100 s't'g, @ 31 $\frac{1}{2}$livres	2,294 16 5
Messrs. Parr, Buckley & Co., bills of 11th May at usance, on P. & J. Bonthon, for.....	190
Of the 18th of May, bills Paola Magno, at usance, on R. F. Magno	167 7 1
Of the 11th of May, a bill of Volpie & Georgio, on ditto, at usance.....	121
	120
	220
	<hr/>
	£818 7 1 @ 31, 19,006 18 8
	<hr/>

Of the 11th of June, Albert Meyers, bills at 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ us., on Hooft De Bredt of Amsterdam.....	3,487 10
Polyart's bill of the same date, at usance, on John.....	1,618 3
	<hr/>
	£5,105 13 0 @ 53 $\frac{1}{2}$, 11,372 4 3
	<hr/>

Sept. 30, 1776. Cash paid by Capt. Hutchins.....livres	1,102	5	0
Nov. 4. Messrs. Parr, Buckley & Co., bills	280		
26th Sept., at 90 days, for.....	200		
	145	10	2
	<hr/>		
	£625	10	2 @ 31 $\frac{1}{8}$, 14,469
	<hr/>		
		11	9

Remittances in Robert Gage's bill, of 18th Oct., at 30 days sight, on Milles, Barber & Co., £21 sterling	483	17	0
	<hr/>		
	Livres	48,729	13
	<hr/>		
			1

On account of the foregoing remittances, the following disbursements were made by Mr. Delap, as per account rendered by him :

Oct. 11, 1776. Cash paid Capt. Hutchins.....	1,842	5	
Amount of sundries loaded in the Samuel, of and for New York, John Hutchins, Master, per invoice furnished	60,606	11	
29. Cash paid Capt. Jacob Sarly, for ship's use	4,350	15	
Premium on 24,000 livres, insured on a parcel of pot ashes, loaded for Dublin, &c.....	480		
Amount of a cable furnished Capt. Sarly...	637		
To paid for an anchor	300		
To charges of protesting Margaret Livingston's bill of 28th of May last, at 30 days' sight, to your order on Samuel Baker for £1,000 sterling, protested for N. A. & N. P.	£0	15	6
Commissions in London, $\frac{1}{2}$ pr. ct.	5	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£5	15	6 st'g
	<hr/>		
		137	9
			1

To charge of protesting Samuel Shingers bill of 20th August, at 30 days' sight, on Ford, Curtons & Co., of Barcelona, for £800 s't'g, £1, 15, 9, @ 15, 12, per pistole	6 19 5
	<hr/>
Livres 68,360 19 6	<hr/>

Brought down	48,729 13 1
Balance over the re- mittances.....	19,631 6 5
	<hr/>
	Livres 68,360 19 6

N. B.—When Messrs. Livingston, Lewis, and Alsop made the foregoing remittances to Mr. Delap, they sent Capt. Hutchins in the sloop Samuel with a load of pot ash, addressed to Mr. Delap; but sent no letter or advice to Mr. Deane, but acquainted Mr. Delap that the sloop was to return with a cargo on the general account of which Mr. Deane had the direction. The pot ash could not be sold in France, and was shipped to Ireland, and the sloop returned with the foregoing cargo, which left Mr. Delap 19,631, 6, 5 livres in advance.

Mr. Morris, under the firm of Willing, Morris & Co., made the following remittances to Mr. Delap :

Sept. 1776. Messrs. Edward Burns & Sons of Lisbon, in J. Roque George's bills of 20th Aug., at $\frac{1}{2}$ usance, on Geraldo Bramcamp d'Almeda & Co. of Amsterdam, 3,000 } 2,000 } @ 47 pr. p. is 5,875 Bo. at 53 $\frac{1}{2}$	12,487 7 6
Oct. 16. Messrs. Edward Burns & Sons of Lisbon, in bills of Rouvin & Co., of 1st Oct., @ 60 d'ys, on Louis Le Roy.....	6,000
Ditto of Mr. Fauge of 1st do., on Louis Polyart.....	3,000
Ditto of Tarteson & Son, 19th Au- gust, @ usances on Messrs. Mal- let & Le Royer.....	2,450 2,350

Oct. 16.	Of J. Miramon & Co., 24th August, on Tourton.....	1,900			
	A credit lodged by Messrs. Berwickes & Mourique, of lading, with Messrs. Ger- many, Gerardot & Co., at Paris.....		20,000		
19.	A bill from Franks, on Nes- bitt, Drummond & Franks, for	£900	0	st'g	
	one of Griffiths, on Dunlap & Wilson, for.....	4	12		
	and one of Galwith, on E., for	10			
					£914 12 st'g
	Exchange @ $30\frac{1}{2}\frac{5}{8}$	21,285	4	9	
Nov.	Messieurs Edward Burns & Sons remit- tances, in Joaqn. Rogers' bills of 5th Nov., @ $1\frac{1}{2}$ usance, on G. Bramcamp d'Almeda & Co. of Amsterdam, 4,000 @ $46\frac{3}{4}$ pr. p., 4,675 @ $53\frac{1}{4}$		10,449	7	3
Dec. 25.	Messrs. Edward Burns & Sons, remittance in Horeholls & Co. bills of 23d Oct., payable at the end of Jan., on Gaillard, Bonyas, Freres & Co.; in three bills, 5,600, 5,400, and 1,818, 9, 8.....		12,818	9	8
Jan 21, 1777.	Bills on Sir John Lambert, } in consequence of a credit } lodged by Messrs. Berwickes } & Mouriques of Cadiz..... } Negotiated at 1 per cent. loss.....	5,200 4,800 10,000			
			9,900	0	0
			Livres	102,640	9 2
	Out of which Mr. Delap paid :				
Sept. 1776.	The charge of protesting, &c., Bonfield and Ringgold & Hemmsly's bills.....		284	9	2
Jan. 25, 1777.	The charge of protesting other bills returned on this day.....		139	14	10
	Their interest in the Timoleon, Jos. B—, Master, pr. acct. rendered.....	21,904	1	10	
	Balance remaining.....	80,312	3	4	
			Livres	102,640	9 2

The above balance for the use of Mr Deane on account of Congress....Livres		80,312	3	4
Mr. Delap's advance over the amount of the remittances made by Messrs. Living- ston, Lewis & Alsop, brought forward...		19,631	6	5
Mr. Delap paid for the outfits of the sloop, Capt. Jeremiah Morgan, Master.....		10,576	14	7
N. B.—In Sept. the sloop sailed, about the last of that month.				
Oct. 10, 1776.	Mr. Delap paid for 18 casks of sul- phur shipped on board the Lucretia, Capt. Sarly, for New York, per acct....	4,792	16	6
Also the expences of the Chevalier Bassin- court, and for his passage in Capt. Hutchins, said Bassincourt going out with dispatches and to serve in America...		955	10	0
29.	Charge on receiving and shipping 141 casks of saltpetre in Capt. Sarly.....	907	1	0
N. B.—The saltpetre bought of Mr. Chaumont rec'd.				
Nov. 1.	Cash paid Millin de la Brossa.....	1,080	0	0
Jan. 11, 1777.	Paid the draught of S. Deane for the saltpetre, per account.....	52,271	18	6
Feb. 14.	Paid the Chevalier Le Balme.....	1,128	0	0
20.	Paid Mons. Broquens.....	480	0	0
Mar. 17.	Paid bill of S. Deane, of 26th Nov., in favor of the Baron de Kalb.....	8,000	0	0
Paid ditto, ditto, to Le Vicomte de Mauron, due the 30th.....		8,000	0	0
Paid for sundries, pr. invoice.....		311	11	0
Paid the amount of a cargo of salt at St. Martins, for the sloop Dolphin of Charles- town, Wm. Moore, Master, addressed to the Committee of Congress.....		3,175	10	9
		111,310	8	9
Brought down.....		80,312	3	4
Balance.....		30,998	5	5
		111,310	8	9

Thus Mr. Delap's advances exceeded the remittances above stated the sum of 30,998, 5, 5 livres; but neither the above remittances or advances come intirely within

the year 1776, though the greater part of them do ; viz., the remittances made by Messrs. Livingston, Lewis and Alsop, amounting to the sum of 48,729, 13, 1, and the returns by Capt. Hutchins of 68,360, 19, 6, were entirely in 1776.

Capt. Hutchins sailed sometime in Oct., or early in Nov., from Bordeaux for New York, the balance of 19,631, 6, 5 livres unpaid.

The remittances made by Mr. Morris, under the firm of Willing, Morris & Co., amounting to 102,640, 9, 2, were in 1776 ; and Mr. Delap's disbursements, amounting to the sum of 111,310, 8, 9, were also in 1776, excepting the two small sums of 3,175, 10, 9 for salt, and of 311, 11, for some trifles ; for though the payment of Mr. Deane's bills for the saltpetre, &c., are charged in Jan., Feb., and March, 1777, the day of payment, yet they were accepted by Mr. Delap in Nov. and Dec. preceding, when also he received the orders for purchasing the salt for Capt. Moore ; so that the whole of the disbursements were, in effect, in 1776.

Brought down.....	111,310	8	9
Balance in favor of Willing, Morris & Co., bro't on.....	80,312	3	4
	<hr/>		
Balance in advance.....	30,998	5	5
	<hr/> <hr/>		

The bills, money, and logwood already mentioned, brought out by Mr. Deane, amounted to the neat sums of—

Sales of the money.....	16,285	11	5
Proceeds of the bills.....	55,143	16	9
Sales of the logwood.....	2,441	6	9
	<hr/>		
	83,870	14	11
	<hr/> <hr/>		

Mr. Deane's expences from Jan. to Dec., 1776 ; viz., from his engagement in Phil., to his arrival at Bordeaux in June, 1776. 2,204 10 0

From June, 1776, to Dec., as charged in his acct. with Congress, in which is included the amt. of all his disbursements to that time; viz., his expences, payment for expresses, for relief of American prisoners and to officers engaged in the American service, &c., &c..... 53,776 8 6

55,980 18 6

Mr. Deane recd. of Mr. John Alsop a bill on Mr. John Hodgson of Amsterdam, the neat amount of which was livres 4,217, which in Oct., 1776, he gave to Mr. Carmichael, then on a journey to Berlin, to defray his expences. Mr. C. recd. the money, and applied the whole of it to that purpose. At least, he never gave any acct. to Mr. Deane of any surplus, whence no mention is made of that bill in the stock or funds in Mr. Deane's hands.

Oct. 17, 1776. Mr. Deane purchased of Mr. Chaumont 2,000 barrels of powder, @ 18 sous, or 9d. sterling per lb., and shipped and insured the same to Martinico on account of Congress, amounting to..... 188,729 15 0

The saltpetre and other purchases made by him to Dec., 1776, amounted to..... 131,859 15 10

320,589 10 10

On which, by contract, he was then entitled to a commission of 5 per cent..... 16,029 10 0

The purchases being compleated, and the goods shipped for the amount of the powder, Mr. Deane gave bills on Mr. Delap at 3 usances; he hoped in that time to have remittances, and that Mr. Delap, to whom he wrote that if remittances should not arrive in season that he would obtain a renewal of the bills for 3 months longer, would venture to accept them, but he declined;

and on the 31st of Dec., 1776, wrote as follows : " Time only permits us ; we have just received a letter from A. Nesbitt, Esq., of London, returning us protested £1,200 sterling, David White's bill of 20th, April, at 30 days sight on Sargeants, Chambers & Co. ; £1,100 stg. of Margaret Livingston, of 28th, of May, at 30 days sight on S. Baker ; £570, 9, stg. of Ringold & Hemesley, of 8th, Nov., 1775, at 30 days sight on Sargeants, Chambers & Co. ; so that the last remittances made us by Messrs. Livingston, Lewis, and Alsop, and by Messrs. Willing, Morris & Co., has been all protested, except two small bills, making together £230 sterling. Messrs. Livingston, Lewis, and Alsop since remitted us for your accmpt, £800 in D. Stringer's bill of 20th, of August, at 30 days sight on Ford, Courtoys & Co. of Barcelona, which is likewise returned to us protested for nonpayment. We are sorry for all these disappointments, but in the present situation of affairs we look upon bills as no remittance ; for scarce one in ten of them is paid. The bills you forwarded us for acceptance must lye by us until funds arrive, or if you think proper we shall return them to you." The bills were accordingly returned.

On the 12th of Nov. Mr. Deane borrowed			
of Mr. Beaumarchais.....livres,	20,000	0	0
Dec. 5th, 2,400 ; on the 26th, 411, 16...	2,811	16	0
The total ever received by Mr. Deane of			
Mr. de Beaumarchais, or on his acct.	22,811	16	0

The state, therefore, of Mr. Deane's transactions on the acct. of Congress to Dec., 1776 ; and of the receipts and disbursements made by him, or by his order, on public acct., stood as follows :

Funds brought out by Mr. Deane.....	73,870	14	11
Received by Mr. Delap on his acct. from			
Messrs. Livingston, Lewis & Alsop.....	48,727	13	1
From Messrs. Willing & Morris.....	102,640	9	2
Received by Mr. Deane from Mr. Beaumarchais.....	22,811	16	0
Mr. Delap paid on acct. of the cargo.....	248,052	13	2

Shipped by Capt. Hutchins.....	68,360	19	6
On the private acct. of Willing and Morris..	21,328	5	10
For the expence and outfit of the sloop, Capt. John Morgan, Master.....	10,576	14	7
For saltpetre, &c., to officers, &c.....	81,102	7	9
Mr. Deane paid expences to Bordeaux....	2,204	10	0
— ditto, disbursed to Dec., 1776.....	55,980	18	6
	<hr/>		
Mr. Deane's commissions above stated....	239,553	16	2
	16,029	10	0
	<hr/>		
	255,583	6	2
	248,052	13	2
	<hr/>		
	11,530	13	0

Over all the remittances made to Mr. Delap
and monies received by Mr. Deane.

At the same time, Mr. Deane's notes for the 2,000 barrels of powder, 188,729, 15, would become due the 20th, of January, were already negotiated and in the hands of a banker, who had taken care to give him due notice of it. Thus, in December, 1776, at the time of the arrival of Doctor Franklin at Paris, Mr. Deane, including his commissions and his notes, was in advance the sum of, livres 200,260, 8,—£8,761, 17, 8 sterling,—and, unless funds should arrive or be procured from some quarter, within one month of inevitable bankruptcy. The world may justly charge him with imprudence, in permitting his zeal to serve his country to involve him in this manner. But it ought to be remembered that on his leaving Philadelphia both the Secret and Commercial Committees assured him, in the most positive terms, that he should not want funds to execute his commission of Commercial and Political Agent for his country; that on his first arrival in France there appeared a spirit in favor of America, which greatly encouraged him, and emboldened him to enter into these engagements beyond his funds in hand. And to give some idea of his commercial, as well as political, situation at that time, it ought also to be remembered that the news of the defeat

on Long Island, the evacuation of New York, and the almost total dispersion of the army, and of the general obstruction and capture of our ships, had arrived at Paris. But before I proceed, permit me here to appeal to the Secret and Commercial Committees, and to Messrs. Morris, Livingston, Lewis, and Alsop, my co-partners in the contract, if the above is, or is not, an exact and faithful state of the funds furnished me on my leaving America, and of those remitted to me from thence to Dec., 1776, inclusive, and which ever had until that period, by any channel whatever, come to my hand; and to the accompts of Mr. Beaumarchais, long since before Congress, if the above sum of 22,811, 16 livres is not the whole of the money ever charged by Mr. Beaumarchais on my accmpt. And on the decision of this appeal I am willing to risque my cause, my veracity, and everything dear in life. I ought to mention that when I gave my bills on Mr. Delap, and afterwards my notes for the powder, the accmpt of charges and for insurance were not produced, and therefore I drew for 180,000 livres only; but the accmpt under Mr. Chaumont's hands, hereto annexed, shews that the whole amount was as above, and I paid him the balances afterwards, with the rest, by orders on Mr. Grand. Permit me here to repeat that the above sum was the only money ever received by me from Mr. de Beaumarchais, as will appear by his accompts rendered, and I paid the whole of it to the officers going out to America forty-eight hours after the receipt of it; and my stating of my other receipts will appear from Messrs. Delaps' accompts, thro' whom alone I received any monies on account of Congress or their committees, either of Secrecy, or of Commerce, or of the contractors for Indian goods. Here, instead of being found a defaulter, or of having embezzled the public's money, I had, exclusive of the sum of 188,729, 15 livres for which I stood indebted to Mr. Chaumont, a balance of 11,530, 13 livres in my favor, and that without any charge for my time. For every one of the above charges and credits I have the

most unquestionable vouchers, except it be for the small articles of my private expences, and I challenge the most inveterate of my enemies to shew that I have either exaggerated or diminished any one of them. My contract with Mons. de Beaumarchais was generally for 30,000 stand of arms compleat, 220 brass cannon and mortars and their carriages, and for ammunition in proportion; for cloathing and tents for 30,000 men, &c., &c.; and for the charter of ships to transport the whole, with a corps of artillery and other officers, to America. At this period, viz., on the arrival of Dr. Franklin in December, the ships were ready in the ports of Nantes, Havre du Grace, and Marseilles to receive their cargoes; and two of them had received their cargoes on board, and were under sailing orders, and the others partly loaded. And notwithstanding the delicate situation of affairs at that time between the Courts of Versailles and London threw an infinite variety of difficulties in the way, yet the arms, cannon, ammunition, cloathing, &c., were nearly wholly collected in the ports aforesaid, and ready for embarkation. When it is recollected that I arrived at Paris but in July preceding, a stranger to the country, to its laws, manners, politics, and even to its language; without even a recommendation to any one person in Paris, who was either in the political, or in the commercial lines of life; and that the British Minister at Versailles, and his spies and partizans in every part of France, were vigilant to discover any and every movement of mine, or of Mr. de Beaumarchais, publicly known to be acting for me; and that scarcely a week past but some complaints were made at Versailles by Lord Stormont on the subject; I presume that I shall not be charged, at least by the impartial, if even by my most partial and inveterate enemies, with having been inattentive to the duties of my commission, or that I passed my time idly and to no good purpose. But you, Mr. Reed, say, in a stile peculiar to men of a certain profession (not of the law; gentlemen of that profession are generally clear and explicit), "that you cannot but *believe* your oppor-

tunities have given you good reason *for the opinion* (that is, to believe) that if the first supplies from France had been managed not only with common honesty, but without the most atrocious fraud, we should never have been that object of political horror, a bankrupt Republic, &c." I know not if I ought to congratulate or to pity you on this feeble symptom of some remaining tho' faint spark of conscience, or of grace, still left you. Conscious that you had not a single fact, or even a probable circumstance, to adduce in support of your heavy charges against me, and, what is more, that you did not yourself believe them just, you express yourself in a stile agreeable to the impressions which your little jesuitical mind then labored under, conscious of guilt and of the most gross and open falsehood, and afraid of being convicted. You say, in one word, that "you *cannot* but believe that your *opportunities* have given you good reason for the *opinion* that what you have positively asserted is true, and that dishonest practices and atrocious frauds committed by me in 1776, were the cause of the public bankruptcy or loss of credit which happened four years afterwards." I well know that your *opportunities* for five years past have given you, not simply reason to believe, but to know to a mathematical certainty, that the above sums were the whole of the monies furnished me by Congress, in any shape whatever, in the year 1776, and that the first supplies were purchased and contracted for by me, and sent out in that year and in the beginning of the next. Shame on your pitiful cant about your not being able to help your believing; that your opportunities have given you good reason to believe; when for five years past the records and journals of Congress, and of the Secret and Commercial Committees, have been open to you, to which, if you had referred, you must have come at a certainty of the truth. I have now given an account of the monies remitted to me, or any way received by me on the public account, to December, 1776, at which time Doctor Franklin and Mr. Lee, joined in a new commis-

sion with me, came to Paris. From this period I had no right to undertake any thing new by virtue of my first commission of Commercial and Political Agent ; but I was bound to execute what I had already undertaken and engaged for, which, under my circumstances, was no easy task. Doctor Franklin's arrival brought me no relief. On the contrary, it involved me for a time in fresh difficulties ; not, indeed, through any fault of his, but from the circumstances of the time, and the temporizing and double part which the Court of Versailles judged it necessary to take up and to pursue, and in which they persevered for a long time after my arrival in France by the way of Bermuda, and in the character of a merchant, and being wholly unknown in Europe, gave no great and immediate alarm to the British Ministers. But when they found by their emissaries in France that large quantities of cannon, arms, ammunition, and warlike stores were transporting to the sea ports ; that they were under the direction of Mr. de Beaumarchais, whom they knew to be connected with me ; they readily concluded that they were destined for America, and remonstrated to the Court of Versailles, where the usual reply was, that the Court were wholly ignorant of any such proceeding or intention ; that the King had strictly prohibited the exportation of warlike stores, except to his own colonies ; that they could not be supposed to be acquainted with the speculations of individuals in commerce, or responsible for them ; but if any one should dare to transgress the King's ordinances he should be severely punished, for the King was determined to abide by the treaties with Great Britain. This, however, was not sufficient to satisfy the British Minister, who was able to specify the movements of the artillery and stores, which could not be a secret, and he therefore demanded an explanation. The Court could give no other satisfaction than by issuing orders to suspend our operations. This satisfied the British Minister for the present, but embarrassed and distressed us extremely by the loss of time, as well as by the exorbitant expence

it occasioned. But thus we had been obliged to proceed, one week obtaining a secret permission to go on, and the next counter orders. But by the greatest exertions and perseverance of Mr. de Beaumarchais, and by his interest at Court, we had, as we fondly imagined, surmounted every difficulty. The cannon, arms, and stores were nearly all ready to be embarked; ships were in the ports and loading with them, and two of them ready for sailing, when Doctor Franklin arrived, and threw the Court of France into very serious embarrassment and alarm. It was difficult, they knew, if not impossible, to find any plausible pretext for covering, or explaining away, the direct and well-known object of his voyage. Commercial business of a private nature could not, as in my case, be ascribed to him. It could not be pretended that he had deserted the American cause; or that at his time of life, and at that season of the year, he had made such a voyage either for his health or amusement. Besides, he had made his voyage in a ship owned and armed by Congress, and under a commission and flag hostile to Great Britain; had committed hostilities on his passage by taking two British ships and bringing them into the ports of France with him. The Court of France well knew that these circumstances were too notorious to be either disguised or palliated; and when added to those of the embarkation of large quantities of military stores, now publicly known, and universally supposed to be destined for America, they were apprehensive that they must be under the necessity of not only declaring, but of acting decidedly, against any aid or assistance being given to America, and against all countenance to her agents, or come to a rupture with Great Britain, which, situated as France then was, must have been fatal to her marine and commerce, and to all her future prospects of curbing those of the former. Orders were therefore given, immediately on the arrival of Doctor Franklin being known at Versailles, to stop the embarkation of the stores, to stop the ships ready to sail, and to unload all the articles

already on board. Every American, even at this distance of time, must feel for me in my situation at that crisis. The intelligence from America was extremely unfavorable; the stores essentially wanted in America to stop the progress of the enemy stopped in the moment of their being ready to sail, and detained in France; the Court of France obliged to take up an unfriendly appearance towards us; Mr. de Beaumarchais menaced even with the Bastille and capital punishment for the part which he had acted, and though he had been secretly encouraged and countenanced in it, had no proofs of it by which he could vindicate his conduct. He became almost desperate; for there appeared so much of sincerity in these unfavorable resolutions of the Court that he had reason to apprehend that his intire ruin would not be a sacrifice that would be refused if thought necessary to silence the remonstrances of Great Britain. Doctor Franklin brought no remittances for me; on the contrary, Mr. Morris wrote me by him that I must expect none whilst public affairs remained in the dangerous situation they then were, and I was then indebted on account of the public, as before stated, the sum of 188,729, 15 livres, and my notes for the 2,000 barrels of powder to Mr. Chaumont had been by him already negotiated, and must soon become due. A commission was sent from Congress by Doctor Franklin to Mr. Thomas Morris, appointing him Commercial Agent, and orders sent to him to pay Messrs. Franklin, Deane and Lee ten thousand pounds sterling for their expences. A resolve of Congress was also sent, in which one thousand pounds sterling per annum was voted for a secretary to be appointed, but none named. Mr. Morris wrote me a general account of the disappointments which the Committee had met with, which had prevented their making the remittances promised me, &c.; but that he hoped for more favorable times, yet could not promise me any thing farther on account of the contract, &c., &c.; that he hoped the Commissioners would be able to procure funds in France to enable me to pro-

ceed in the engagements I had already entered into for Congress; that his brother (with whose character he appeared to be perfectly well acquainted) would apply himself to business with an attention equal to his abilities, which were really good, &c. ; that I should now be freed from any commercial transactions, except those already undertaken by me, &c. The appointment of a Commercial Agent, who would have taken all the burthen of everything in that department off my hands, and of a secretary to the Commission, would have been the most desirable circumstances for me; but no secretary was ever appointed, and the conduct of the Commercial Agent was such as to plunge the Commissioners into difficulties and embarrassments, and to increase those within which I was involved. I have already said that Doctor Franklin brought over no funds for me. The ship, Capt. Wicks, Master, in which he came, brought 35 casks of indigo, the neat effects of which were for the use of the Commissioners. Messrs. Penet and Mr. Gruel took the care of them, and remitted to a Mr. Sollier—a professed banker indeed, but of no note, or of so considerable practice in his profession as to keep a clerk—the sum of 41,571, 17 livres as the whole proceeds of the indigo for the use of the Commissioners; of which 41,247, 8, 6 was received by them in the months of Dec., Jan., and Feb.; the charge of interest, though, on their own money, 141, 9, and a commission of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., amounting to 183, being deducted. This was indeed a very scanty sum, even for the present expences of the three Commissioners and their families; yet it was all which they could with certainty depend on. Mr. Thomas Morris received no funds with his commission, and of course could not pay the ten thousand pounds sterling to the Commissioners but by raising it on a credit; and Mr. Penet, who from the first meant to make his advantages, with his friend Gruel of Nantes, of the present circumstances, offered the Commissioners a credit on his banker, Mr. Sollier, for their present wants. A stranger, on his arrival at Paris or

London, or in any commercial country, is held in estimation, in some degree, according to the credit of the merchants and bankers to whom he is recommended and has bills or a credit on; and though Mr. Sollier, without business enough to pay a clerk, might be a banker in character for Mr. Penet, lately a journeyman gunsmith at Strasbourgh, it was rather a mortifying circumstance to the Commissioners of the thirteen independant United States to be dependant either on such a merchant or banker for money for their support. But they were obliged to submit, and Mr. Sollier promised verbally to supply them with money as they should want it to the amount of ten thousand pounds sterling. Had he been able, even with the aid of his principal, to have advanced the money, the above objection might have been removed by transferring the sum into the hands of some banker of solidity and of character; but that not being the case, the Commissioners were obliged to submit. The funds, therefore, of the Commissioners were 41,571, 17, 6 livres, in the hands of Mr. Sollier, and his verbal promise for a larger sum as soon as he and his principal could raise it. My colleagues were not only mortified, but extremely uneasy in this situation, and I should have been no less so, but other circumstances, infinitely more perplexing and mortifying, rendered me insensible of these lesser ones. My notes for almost £8,000 sterling were within one month of becoming due. Seven sail of ships, chartered, and partly loaded with the cannon, arms, cloathing, &c., for America, lay in the ports of France under an interdict from the Court; and the *Amphitrite*, which Mr. Beaumarchais had the address to push out from Havre before the publication of the edict, though not until after it had arrived in the town, to compleat our embarrassments, returned into L'Orient. But to have done with Mr. Sollier for the present, tho' I shall be obliged to take up the disagreeable subject hereafter, he paid, as before related, 41,247, 8, 6 livres in the space of about six weeks; and on the verbal credit he paid, from March, 1777, to August, the

sum of 34,265 livres, and charged 82,517, and then refused to pay any thing more. The Commissioners were advised to go to law with him, but they had more serious affairs on hand, and not holding themselves accountable for more than they received, they neglected him, and he, with one of his principals, Gruel, failed soon after. The first sum, of 41,247, 8, 6, was paid in the following manner :

To Doctor Franklin, at Nantes, on his arrival, for advances by Gruel	4,005	0	6
To Capt. Nicholson, 480; to J. Williams, 480	960		
To Arthur Lee, Esq.	5,658	12	
In a bill on London, sent by the Commissioners to the relief of Prisoners	2,325	11	6
To Doctor Franklin solely	1,035	4	6
To Doctor Franklin and Mr. Deane jointly	20,061	4	
To Franklin, Deane, and Lee jointly	7,201	16	
	<hr/> 41,247 8 6 <hr/>		

I lived at the time in the same hotel with Doctor Franklin, and therefore part of this money was received jointly by us; and there was at first some difficulty made about drawing money by one of the Commissioners only, which occasioned their joint transaction in part, and prevents my having been able to ascertain exactly what part, if any, of the above was applied to my private and separate expences. Of the sum of 82,517 livres, he has charged the receipt as follows :

To Jonathan Williams, at Nantes	3,360		
To Caffieri, for Gen. Montgomery's monument, pr. order Dr. Franklin	4,800		
To Doctor Franklin	3,053	15	
To Arthur Lee, Esq.	8,946	17	
To S. Deane	62,056	4	
For charges	300	4	
	<hr/> 82,517 0 <hr/>		

Of the above charge of 62,056, 4 livres to me, 48,252, 4, are monies which he paid me by order of Mr. Thomas Morris, since deceased, out of a sum remitted by Mr. Robert Morris, to be employed in an expedition on his own private account, under my management and direction, as is well known to Mr. Morris, to Captain Bell, and to Mr. Penet. To the two former, and to the letters of Mr. Thomas Morris, deceased, I appeal; but not to Mr. Penet, for that gentleman, when he and Mr. Gruel wanted to make out as large an account as possible against Congress, charged these sums as delivered to me on the public account. In 1779 Mr. Penet was in Philadelphia, and in adjusting his accompts with Mr. Morris charged him with those monies paid to me on Mr. Morris's private accompt, on which Mr. Morris called on me. I told him that the monies had been paid to me on that accompt agreeable to his letters to me and orders to his brother; but that before I left France, Sollier had, by orders from Gruel and Penet, to charge those sums to public accompt, which, though quite unjustifiable, I presumed that he had done. Mr. Penet pretended that it was impossible that this could be the case, and pretended that he knew nothing of any such orders; on which Mr. Morris observed that the books and files of the Commercial Committee would clear up the matter, and that we had best to go together to the office; which we did, and there found those monies charged by Mr. Penet to the public. Though the charge was wrong, it no way materially affected me, as it was nearly the same thing to whom I accounted, so long as I did it in the way in which I had received orders to dispose of the money. Mr. Penet confessed his mistake, and gave Mr. Morris bills on his partners for the amount; but those gentlemen, to avoid payment, shifted the charge from the account of the public to that of Mr. Morris, where it ought, as they well knew, to have stood from the first, and returned Mr. Morris's bills from Penet unpaid. As this money had by me been

entrusted to Mr. Eyries, to execute the orders of Mr. Morris and Mr. Beaumarchais, being the guaranty of Eyries, who had perverted the whole to his own use, Mr. Morris, on my leaving America, wrote to Mr. Beaumarchais, and requested Mr. de Francy and myself to urge him to a speedy settlement, and to remit the balance, whatever it might be, to his orders. Mr. Penet having thus dexterously played with this sum, first making it answer for so much in account against Congress, and then for so much against Mr. Morris, found, on his return to France, that both Gruel, his late partner, and Sollier, his banker, had failed ; and he or Gruel, or whoever had the making out of the accompts of Sollier, made a third turn of this charge ; and, on my looking into the books of Congress, I found it again charged as paid to me on account of the public. It was necessary to say this much in this place on this charge. I now return to my situation in the beginning of 1777, when, as I have already stated, I was, including my commissions, 11,530, 13 livres and 188,729, 15, in debt, and attended with the other embarrassing circumstances already mentioned, and without the least prospect of relief, except from the Court, who at this time appeared to act more than a cautious, even an unfriendly, part towards us. Previous to the arrival of Doctor Franklin, I had several interviews with the Count de Vergennes, and many with Monsr. Gerard, to whom I was referred by the Count. I had, in the course of the summer and autumn, presented six memoires, describing in the most forcible manner I could the distressed and dangerous situation of our affairs in America, and praying for aid and assistance. When in my first interview with the Count I spoke to him of the probability that matters would be carried to such extremity in America that Congress would declare the United Colonies independant, and thence took occasion to ask him if such an event should take place, whether we might expect the countenance and assistance of France, he replied that this was as yet an event in the womb of time,

and at least doubtful, and therefore nothing could with propriety be said on the subject at present ; and that whenever such an event should happen, the circumstances of the times must naturally dictate the proper measures to be taken by France ; but that the treaty between France and England having been hitherto inviolably observed, the king would under no circumstances be the first to violate it. When, in obedience to the orders of Congress, I informed him of the Declaration of Independance, and improved the occasion to urge for aid and support, he appeared more cautious and reserved than before. On the arrival of Doctor Franklin, the measures already mentioned were taken to convince the British Ministers that the Court of France did not mean to countenance or support us. I met Doctor Franklin at Versailles, on his way to Paris, and at the same time waited on the Count de Vergennes, who gave his advice, which to men in our situation was equivalent to orders, that Doctor Franklin should not say any thing of his business in France, or of his having a commission from Congress ; but that it should be given out that the Doctor, on account of his great age, had chose to retire, and to cultivate the acquaintance of his old philosophical friends and correspondents in France, and to superintend the education of his two grandsons, whom he had brought with him. This was indeed the most plausible excuse that could be given, and the Minister hoped by this, and by the orders given to detain the ships and supplies, then ready for America, to parry the remonstrances of the British Minister, which was the first object of the Court of France, whatever might be our fate in consequence of it. At Paris nothing was wanting to amuse and entertain the Doctor, and, if possible, to lull him into a state of repose and inactivity ; but the situation of our affairs would not suffer it. Mr. Lee arrived at Paris the next day after the Doctor, and in a few days after, the Commissioners had an interview with the Count de Vergennes, presented him with a copy of

their commission, and of the articles of the proposed treaty, on which no observations were then made, and little more passed than general inquiries of the state of affairs in America, and injunctions to be cautious and secret, and to wait events. I improved the occasion of this interview to mention the interdict laid on the ships and stores bound to America, and the fatal consequences which might ensue ; but the Count stopped me short by saying that the affair was not in his department, and asked me what the stores consisted of. I answered, " Brass cannon, arms, ammunition, and cloathing." " Indeed," replied the Count ; " where did you procure brass cannon and arms and ammunition?" I answered, " Of Mr. Beaumarchais." " Indeed ; and where did he purchase them?" I told him that I was ignorant of that ; on which he repeated that it was not an affair in his department, but in that of the marine, and that Mr. de Beaumarchais had been very imprudent in venturing to meddle or engage in such an affair. On our return to Paris, I stated generally to my colleagues the situation in which I then was on account of the engagements I had entered into. But they were of opinion that as I had undertaken those affairs previous to their arrival, it was best that I should go through with the execution of them, and not involve the affairs which might be undertaken under the joint commission with those that preceded. I could not object to their reasons, nor urge them to become partners with me in my distress and embarrassments ; but we were, all of us, though not equally, interested to raise money by some means or other ; for, independant of my engagements, we had not even any certainty of money for our support, much less to undertake any thing for the benefit of our country ; and to remain thus inactive and useless was both distressing and mortifying. We had no hopes of remittances from Congress in any season, nor credit with individuals to any amount. I had from my first arrival in France endeavored to form a contract with the Farmers General for tobacco,

and for this purpose had repeated conferences with Mons. Paulze, the acting person for that article. But his terms appeared to me too hard. Our necessities were now become such that, hard as they were, we wished to agree to them. But on receiving our application jointly, he would not do any thing on our security ; that is, he would contract, but not advance any money, which the same to us as doing nothing. In this situation I applied by a friend to the Ministers, and acquainted them with the state of our finances, and, at the same time, let him know, as a secret, indeed, that which I knew would not rest with him longer than from Paris to Versailles, that the Commissioners had power to treat not with France only, but with any other power in Europe. In a day or two after, Mr. Paulze was assured by the Court that if he could contract with the Commissioners, and would advance one million of livres on the contract, the Court would guarantee him against loss on that accompt ; on which the Commissioners agreed to supply the Farmers General with 4,000 hogsheads of tobacco, for which they were to have 40 livres turnois per cwt., subject to the charges and deductions which they are so ingenious at framing and inserting in their contracts. The conduct of Mr. Paulze was such as might be expected from none but a perfect Shylock. He knew our situation, and though he ran no risque, yet he brought us down to 40 livres per cwt., when the current price was more than 60 livres, and like to rise. He bound us to deliver it within the year, and, having agreed for 4,000 hogsheads only, he inserted 5,000 in the contract ; to which we submitted. And the million of livres was paid to Mr. Grand, the 4th, of June following, and by him credited to Congress. The contract is annexed, No. —. The Minister, sensible that this would be insufficient for us to undertake any thing of consequence with, sent Mr. Gerard a few days after to inform us that the king had given us two millions of livres, to be paid quarterly into the hands of Mr. Grand, and on the 31st, of January the

first quarter was made of 500,000 livres to Mr. Grand, and by him passed to the credit of Congress. By this means I was exonerated of my debt for 188,729 livres, it being paid by Mr. Grand, and charged to the accompt of Congress. I am obliged to be thus particular, not only as to the funds, but in the history of them, in order to give a clear idea as to my situation with respect to the public monies during the whole of my being in the public service, and to demonstrate to the world—not to you, for you at the time you wrote knew the falsehood and malice of your charges. If I embezzled or plundered the public monies, I must have been guilty of it either in the monies brought out by me, or in those remitted to Mr. Delap, or in those received of Mr. Sollier, or in those which were from time to time placed in the hands of Mr. Grand, the banker of Congress. These were the only sources through which any money ever came to my hands ; for neither Congress or either of their Commissioners, or the contractors, ever remitted one shilling to me after my leaving Philadelphia to this moment ; and the above were the only channels through which any of the public monies could have come to my hands. I have already shewn that in December, 1776, I was, without charging any thing for my time, in advance, besides the debt which I owed, and the whole of the remittances made to Mr. Delap ; and in December, 1776, I had received nothing either from Mr. Sollier or from Mr. Grand to this period ; therefore I have proved to demonstration that I was in a situation totally the reverse of that of a defaulter. I have already stated the whole of the charges ever made by Mr. Sollier, about which the only question, if there can remain any, is respecting his, or rather his principals, Gruel and Pennet, charging the public with monies paid me on accompt of Mr. Morris, and by them charged to him. My defaultings, robberies, and frauds in the management of the public money, which amounted, by your account, to millions, must have been committed in those monies which passed through the hands of Mr.

Grand. Now, as Mr. Grand, from the first of his acting as the banker for the Commissioners, which was in February, 1777, to my leaving Paris to return to America, which was in March, 1778, received the sum of 3,750,000 livres only on the accompt of Congress ; as I lived the greatest part of the time in the same house with Doctor Franklin, and was honored with his particular intimacy and friendship ; as Mr. Lee, who was the most jealous person in the world, and from the first my declared enemy ; and as Mr. Grand's books were at all times open to him ; and copies of them, quarterly, at least, given to him and to Doctor Franklin, the world must agree that I was very adroit indeed to have embezzled millions out of about three millions and an half thus circumstanced ; and, what is still more extraordinary, that Doctor Franklin should have no suspicion of my fraud at the time, but, on the contrary, should, without my solicitation or knowledge, assure Congress, in his letter of March, 1778, that he had almost constantly resided with me in the same house, had been a witness to my conduct, and that from his knowledge he assured Congress that I had been an active, able, and faithful minister, and had in various ways rendered great and important services to my country ; and, what is still more surprizing, almost five years after, Doctor Franklin, though at that time you are pleased to say I was a detected traitor, had not, as appears by his certificate, dated in December last, altered his opinion of my public conduct whilst agent for Congress and his colleague as Commissioner Plenipotentiary in France. I must have been master of the most singular address. More, nothing short of the powers of magic and sorcery could have so blinded Doctor Franklin, that a person acting under his immediate eye, and touching no monies without his knowledge, and that also of Mr. Arthur Lee, should rob the public treasury, the whole receipts of which were but about three millions and an half ; and that, after near five years examination and searching, there has not been

found the least trace of a proof of the fact. One must be led to suspect either that you have studied under Katterfelto, the German quack or mountebank, now in this city, and who advertises that he will, by the help of his solar microscope, if it be a very dark night, shew to the good people of this metropolis millions of whales, sharks, porpuses, &c., in a single drop of clear water, or of claret, or porter, for it is all the same with this divine philosopher, as he calls himself; or that you, being disfranchised, and rendered incapable of serving, or rather of imposing, on the good citizens of Pennsylvania in any civil capacity, have resolved to become the political Katterfelto of America. Indeed, your first attempt is a very hardy one; and if you succeed in it you will leave Katterfelto and his black cat and his solar microscope far behind you in a total eclipse; for facts are stubborn things, and when supported by mathematical demonstration have been hitherto deemed invincible, and therefore worthy to be made an attack on in your *coup d'essai*. I have pointed out the only sources through which public monies could come within my power, and I have stated the full amount of the sums which it ever was pretended did come within my reach. I have said and referred to Mr. de Beaumarchais' accompts against Congress for the proof of it; that I received of him 22,811, 16 livres only, and have given an accompt of the immediate disposition of that money, for which I have unquestionable vouchers. But here, perhaps—for all things are possible with a Katterfelto, in politics, as well as in optics—the insinuation, first thrown out by Mr. Lee, that all the funds in Mr. Beaumarchais' hands were a present, a gratuity from the Court of France, and consequently that any fraud or embezzlement or mismanagement of them by me was the same thing as if I had embezzled monies put by Congress directly into my hands, I say it is possible that this insinuation, for it never amounted to an assertion from any one, will be again taken up by you, and in your political microscope be magnified, to the astonish-

ment of the credulous and uninformed ; but impartial and thinking men will enquire, before they make up their minds, first, if the Court of France did place in Mr. Beaumarchais' hands a sum of money designed to be, through him, made a present of to Congress, and how great the amount ; secondly, if I was at the time knowing to this fact ; thirdly, if frauds, dishonest practises, and embezzlements were committed, or suffered to be committed, by me in the management of those funds, and to what degree or amount. Nothing can be more unjust—more extravagantly so—than to charge a servant of the public with the embezzlement of public monies without first shewing that he had such monies in his hands to a certain amount, or near it, and pointing out in general the instances of his delinquency.

To prove the first, that the Court of France did give a sum of money to Mr. de Beaumarchais to be by him made a present of to Congress, nothing after full five years examination has been produced, except Mr. A. Lee's assertion that in the year 1776 Mr. de Beaumarchais told him in London that he had received, or was to receive, a sum of money of his Court to be gratuitously applied to the service of Congress ; the amount Mr. Lee never pretended to ascertain. On this simple assertion of Lee's, uncorroborated by any attending circumstance, all that has been said and published on this subject rests ; but, in opposition to this, Mr. de Beaumarchais affirms that he never had any such conversation with Mr. Lee at London, or any where else ; that, in fact, he could not have had, for that no grounds ever existed for such conversation. This Mr. de Beaumarchais has repeatedly declared to the Court of France, and to Congress, and to the world at large ; therefore Mr. Lee affirms, and Mr. de Beaumarchais denies, and we are not obliged in this case to weigh the credibility of the parties in order to form our judgment. Other evidence presents on every side, and Mr. Lee himself furnishes a part of it in his correspondence at the time with Mons. de Beaumarchais, under

the fictitious name of Mary Johnson. A copy of that correspondence is annexed, in which Mr. Lee, without hinting at a gift or gratuity, urges Mr. de Beaumarchais to persevere in his design of sending out goods and stores to America, and entreats that he would not be discouraged, though remittances should not be made in season, &c. ; could Mr. Lee say or write any thing in more direct contradiction to his own assertion made long afterwards, indeed, on this subject? But though this gentleman may at least be allowed as good and conclusive evidence against himself, yet there are others of much greater importance. The Court of France and Congress have declared that no such gift, gratuity, or present ever was made, and consequently it may be inferred that no such conversation could possibly have passed between Mr. de Beaumarchais and Mr. Lee. It is, indeed, somewhat singular that Mr. Lee and you should insist on a present which the Court of France declares they never made, and Congress that they never received or heard of, except in newspaper publications, which they, by an unanimous vote, reprobated as soon as they appeared in public. But, secondly, was I at the time knowing to, or made acquainted with this, I will not say fact, but assertion, of Mr. Lee's? Most certainly I was not; but I will not rest this negative on my own testimony. It is evident that I could not receive any information on the subject but from the French Ministers, or from Mr. de Beaumarchais, or from Mr. Lee. From what I have shewn above, the Ministers gave me no such information, the letters which passed between Mr. de Beaumarchais and me in the months of July and August shew that I had not the most distant idea of any thing of this nature from Mr. de Beaumarchais; and Mr. Lee, who paid me a visit in Paris at that period, saw Mr. de Beaumarchais and myself together, was daily at my lodgings, and knew that I was entering into a contract with that gentleman for supplies, never gave me the least hint of a present of money from the Court of France, lodged, as he has since pretended, in

the hands of Mr. de Beaumarchais for the use of Congress. Having shewn that there is not the least shadow of proof that any such gratuity was ever made, and brought every possible proof that no such thing ever existed, the third and most important enquiry is if frauds, embezzlements, &c., were committed in the purchase and sending out the supplies which I contracted for with Mr. de Beaumarchais. Nothing can be more idle and absurd than to talk of embezzlements of a fund which never existed ; but a credit may be abused and misapplied, as greatly so, as money in hand ; and so far have I ever been from evading, that I have ever solicited an examination into this, and into every part of my conduct whilst in the service of my country as her agent and commissioner. Having made an estimate of the quantity of cloth, etc., necessary for the cloathing of 30,000 men, I gave it to Mr. de Beaumarchais in 1776, as will appear in my correspondance with him (No. —). In this estimate I endeavored to enumerate every article, even the most minute that could be wanted in the army. Sensible how very destitute my country then was of goods, and that the want of even buttons or thread might retard the speedy cloathing of the army, after I had given in this estimate or general invoice, my next duty, for I could not superintend personally the purchase of every article, nor could Mr. de Beaumarchais do it, was to examine, when the goods came to be shipped, if they were good, and of the quality ordered by me ; but I could not attend personally at Havre de Grace or at Nantes for this purpose. The circumstances of that time were such that my appearance in any of the seaports, on such an employ, would have given such an alarm as would have defeated the expedition ; but I employed Mr. Williams at Nantes, and Mr. Carmichael at Havre, to make the examination, and to send me samples of the arms, cloths, &c., with their opinion of the goods in general. Those gentlemen declared that they found every thing in good order, and of a good quality, and sent me

samples which fully justified their declaration on the subject. Thus the articles furnished by Mr. de Beaumarchais were examined by gentlemen impartial, and, as Americans, interested to detect and present every species of fraud; and it is further evident, from the declaration of Congress in their vote of thanks to Mons. de Beaumarchais in January, 1779, long after the whole of the stores, arms, and goods had been received, that none had been practised in the affair; indeed, it is not possible, in the nature of things, to bring more direct and positive proof of the fidelity with which this commission was executed. The goods and stores were examined and approved of by impartial men previous to their being shipped, no fault was ever found with them at the time of their arrival, and Congress more than one year after the receipt of them unanimously voted the thanks of the United States due to Mons. de Beaumarchais for his generous zeal and faithful exertions in this affair, in which they say that he had justly merited the applause of a New World. I must now desire you to attend to Mr. de Beaumarchais letter of the 28th, of March, 1778, to Congress, in which he says that but for the encouragement which I gave him of speedy and large remittances, he had never undertook to furnish the supplies, and that he should have given up the prosecution but for my entreaties with him to persevere (see his letter No. —). The ships dispatched by Mons. de Beaumarchais were the *Amphitrite*, *Seine*, *Mercure*, *Amelia*, *Therese*, *Mereboobie*, *Marie Catherine*, and the *Flamand*. They were all of them ready to sail in the months of Nov. and Dec., 1776, within five months after my arrival at Paris; and though detained by orders from Court, yet by the uncommon exertions of Mons. de Beaumarchais, in which he often run the greatest risques for his personal safety and liberty, the whole of them, except the *Flamand* were got to sea in Jan. and Feb. and early in the spring of 1777. The *Flamand*, the last of them, sailed in Sept. following. The cargoes they carried out amounted

to 49,301 aunes of broadcloth; 14,767 do. of serge; 23,090 aunes of coarse cloth; 30,112 aunes of light serge for linings, &c.; 6,775 gross of buttons; 7,350 lbs. of thread; 960 lbs. of mohair; 200 mille needles; 77,560 aunes of linen; 118 pieces of cambric; 333 gross of tapes; 970 gross of shirt buttons; 78,169 black stocks; 3,528 dozen of cotton and linen handkerchiefs; 170 dozen silk do.; 2,413 dozen of men's caps; 8,752 pairs of shoes; 3,695 blankets; 4,132 dozen of stockings; 3,549 dozen of shoe, knee, and stock buckles; 164 brass cannon; 153 carriages; 41,359 iron balls; 3,400 wt. matches; 212 drags; 579 iron crows; 31,872 fusils compleat; 373 mille flints; 15,031 gun worms; 514 mille musket ball; 19,788 lbs. lead; 160,900 lbs. powder; 21 mortars, carriages, &c., compleat; 3,147 bombs; 11,500 grenades, &c.; 345 grape shot; 18,033 spades, shovels, pick axes, axes, &c., entrenching and artillery articles; 61 cases and barrels of tin plates; 4,164 tents; 52,037 lbs. of sulphur. When to this is added the 2,000 barrels of powder, the saltpetre, and other articles already mentioned, which I had purchased and shipped; and when it is recollected that the *Amphitrite* and *Mercure*, on board of which were 18,582 stand of arms compleat, 52 pieces of brass cannon, with powder, ball, tents, cloathing, &c., &c., to a large amount, arrived at Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, early in the spring, and in season for the important campaign of 1777; most surely I cannot, with the least shadow of justice, be charged with having neglected my duty, or of famishing the army for want of supplies of every kind in my power to procure, either on the credit of Congress or of my own. I have already shewn that of money I had at first but a small sum, little more than sufficient for my private expences. But I have been charged with exceeding the powers given me, in contracting with gentlemen officers in France to go out and serve in our army; and this was the first cause of my subsequent misfortunes, and of the clamor raised against me. I have no wish to examine, at this distance of time, whether in that transaction I exceeded the

general power given me to act in Europe as the Political, as well as Commercial Agent of Congress; nor have I any interest to avoid such an examination, if regularly called for. It is sufficient to say that Congress approved of all my commercial contracts by receiving the goods and promising to pay for them; that they also approved of such of my contracts with officers as suited them, and disapproved of the rest. When I left America in April, 1776, there was a general complaint of a want of experienced officers, especially in the artillery; and of those stiled thorough disciplinarians. There had been no instance of the rejection of any foreign officer who had tendered his services. It is true that I had received no instructions from Congress or the Committee on the subject. It was a delicate one in its nature, and I entered on it with the utmost reluctance. Indeed, nothing short of the difficulties and embarrassments of my situation could have forced me into the measure. It appeared to me that it could not be disagreeable to my countrymen, in general, to see foreign officers of rank and experience engaging in their cause; and I saw no other means for obtaining what was so essential to my operations, and of which on my arrival I was wholly destitute, friends and patrons in the nation and at Court at the same time. It was privately told me that without something of this kind I should never be able to get the large quantities of cannon, arms, tents, &c., to the seaports, and thence out of the kingdom to America, being myself obliged to carry on every operation under cover, and by the good offices of others hitherto strangers to me, and no ways interested in the success of my enterprizes; but that by engaging officers who had connections at Court, and relations and patrons there, to go out to America with the stores, to serve in a station advanced above their present, I should obtain what I so much wanted, and which appeared essential to the success of my operations. And besides this advice given me by persons of high rank and character in France, I had Mr. Lee's

opinion on the subject, in a letter of his to Mons. de Beaumarchais, in which he urged the sending out engineer and artillery officers as a measure indispensably necessary. Yet I will not pretend to say that it was either perfectly regular or prudent in me, especially so far as it regarded myself personally, to adopt that measure. I have had time and great reason to reflect on that proceeding; yet, notwithstanding what I have suffered in consequence of it, circumstanced as I then was, I should again take up the same measure, and act in the same manner. It was, indeed, hazarding much personally, but on a probable certainty of serving my country. The monies which I disbursed on this occasion amounted to the sum of 29,688 livres, paid by myself immediately, and the sum of, paid by Mr. Delap, of 19,743, 10 livres. By my order Mr. de Beaumarchais paid Mons. de Coudray and the corps of artillery officers 103,921, 13, 4 livres, in which some expences of the transport of the artillery, &c., are included. The reason given by Congress for rejecting Mons. de Coudray and many others was, that their admission would break in on the arrangements already made in the army. No exceptions were taken to the character or abilities of the persons contracted with or recommended by me, except by some interested and illiberal individuals. And when in the history of the late war it is found that of those officers five were employed by Congress in the high rank of major-generals in the army; that two of them, the Count de Pulaski and the Baron de Kalb, in that rank sacrificed their lives in the field of battle; that the Marquis La Fayette served both in our armies in America with reputation, and in France brought his noble and powerful friends to interest themselves in our cause; that General Conway, though unfortunate in America, in part by his own imprudence, by interesting himself in the factions of the day, was of such unquestionable character for bravery and military skill that on his return from America he was advanced in the army of France, and had the important post of

the Cape of Good Hope committed to his charge ; and the Baron Steuben is too well known through America for the excellent system of discipline introduced by him, and for his services in the field, to require my saying any thing in addition to the well merited praises which he has received from Congress and in America at large. To some or all of these, monuments and thanks have been decreed by Congress ; and others, though in lower stations, have faithfully served in our armies, and some of them bear the most honorable marks of their courage and bravery in our cause. Surely, when this is read or recollected, I shall not be charged with having recommended or contracted with men unworthy of my recommendations. In justice to the Marquis La Fayette and to the Baron Steuben, I ought to say here, what appears on my accompts, that I advanced no monies to them, and only twenty louis d'ors to the late Count de Pulaski. As soon as I had resolved to send out officers I had many hundreds of applications, and many of them from persons of high rank, and urged in such a manner that it was scarcely possible to refuse them ; and though previous to the arrival of Doctor Franklin I had resolved to go no farther, and declared my resolution to all, yet for a long time after not a day past without applications to him or me, personally or by letter. This gave Doctor Franklin an idea of what my situation had been, and in his letter to Mr. Lovell (No. —) he apologizes for me on that subject. I will now take up the situation in which our affairs stood on the receipt of the one million of livres from the Farmers General and the two millions of livres from the Court of France. The Loan Office had been opened before Doctor Franklin left Philadelphia, and sums to a considerable amount lent. The paper of Congress, though it had not materially depreciated, yet there were visible symptoms of an approaching depreciation, and without funds in specie, of its being a rapid one. The Doctor urged that, to prevent this, we should write to Congress that they might draw on us for the

interest of the monies borrowed by them in America. I opposed the measure, it being my opinion that we had by no means a certainty of funds equal to such an uncertain and indefinite engagement; and that, if we were, it was better to borrow specie in Europe than paper in America; for that by borrowing specie in Europe future emissions of paper in America might be prevented, and that already out might support its credit and serve for a circulating medium; but I was overruled by my colleagues, and submitted. When we had sent on the letter to Congress we reflected that the three millions of livres in hand and promised, was thereby effectually engaged and locked up from any use in Europe, except for engagements already taken, and for our immediate and inevitable expences. We therefore applied through a friend (for it was desired of us that we should not, if it could possibly be avoided, appear at Versailles ourselves) for a provision for the fulfilment of our promise respecting the payment of the interest of the Loan Office Certificates, and we received a verbal promise that our request should be complied with. Relying on this, we had, not indeed in hand, but assurances of, three millions of livres in the course of the year to employ for the service of Congress. Though Congress made no remittances to their Commissioners, yet every packet and every armed vessel in their service which arrived in France was addressed to their care, and called for disbursements for repairs, &c., from them. Besides this, Congress wrote to the Commissioners to equip armed vessels from France, or from other parts of Europe, to cruise on the British trade, and for that purpose sent over a number of blank commissions to be filled up by the Commissioners, and directed them, if possible, either by purchase or by loan, to procure a number of frigates and ships of war for the service of Congress. During Mr. Lee's absence on his journey into Spain letters were received, giving an account of the affair at Trenton, which had greatly revived the hopes and prospects of America, and in Europe seemed to convince the Court

of Versailles that our affairs were not so desperate as they had but lately concluded them to be, and under this persuasion they relaxed a little of the severity of their orders to prohibit the sending out of ships and stores to America, and this favorable interval was improved by Mr. de Beaumarchais and myself to dispatch the ships destined for America with stores. But it did not last long enough for us to compleat the expedition of the whole. With the above intelligence the Commissioners received orders from Congress to press the conclusion of the treaty with France, and to make several proposals both to France and Spain, to induce one or both of them to take an active part in our favor ; also orders to purchase a large train of artillery, arms, &c., and 40,000 suits of cloaths compleat, and to procure a convoy of several sail of the line to transport or conduct these stores to America, and afterwards to cruise against the enemy. Doctor Franklin and myself on this occasion obtained an audience of Count de Vergennes, who appeared to be well pleased with news of our success, but as far from so much as entering on the consideration of the proposals of Congress for a treaty as when we first made them. He received our additional proposals, heard what we had to offer in favor of them, and referred the whole to some future day, without making any observation or comment on them. As to the ships of war, cannon, arms, &c., requested by Congress, he told us plainly that the Court could do nothing, nor even suffer any thing to be done with their knowledge ; that the utmost that could be expected was that they would not examine too critically into the proceedings of individuals who might undertake to assist us in that way ; that as to the clothing, he hoped that, with the monies we had and the credit which we might obtain, we should be able to procure it. Doctor Franklin and myself, on conferring together, found that by the purchases I had already made, the cannon, arms, and warlike stores ordered by Congress were already provided, and a part of them on their way to America. The cloathing,

therefore, was almost the only material object remaining, except that of ships of war ; and to procure at least some strong ships, we were induced to employ an agent in Holland to build and equip two stout frigates from thence, and advanced 300,000 livres to the house of Hornica, Fitzeau & Co. for that purpose. We also purchased of Mons. de Monthieu a large magazine of arms and warlike instruments at Nantes for 220,000 livres, and we soon after advanced the sum of 450,000 livres to Mr. Ross to enable him to answer the engagements which he had already undertaken by order of Congress. These made such capital draughts on our funds, that it deprived me of all hopes of executing the contract in which I was interested ; and though I considered myself as having a prior right to employ any funds that could be spared to the contract in which I was interested, and for the commission on which I was to receive £2,000 sterling, yet such was the situation of affairs, that I sacrificed every private object and interest of my own to what I deemed most for the public good. We were under no obligation to advance one livre to Mr. Ross ; it was directly contrary to my interest to do it, yet I even urged Doctor Franklin to comply with his request, a fact well known both to Doctor Franklin and Mr. Ross. Mr. Grand recd.:

Jan. 31, 1777. Of the Court of France the sum of.	500,000
On the 28th of April.....	500,000
On the 4th of June, of the Farmers	
General.....	1,000,000

In the whole to the amount of Livres 2,000,000 0 0

And he had paid in the debt due from me to Mons. Chaumont, as above said	188,729 15
Advanced to Hornica, Fitzeau & Co., as above said	300,000
To Mons. Monthieu, for the magazine..	220,000
To Mr. Ross	450,000

For goods shipped from Nantes (in the Theresa). purchased by Mr. Williams	69,455	2	6
Advance to Messrs. Sabbatier, fils, & Desprez, on account of cloaths	30,000		
Monies paid for equipping of cutters, armed, from Dunkirk, Havre, and Nantes. to Mr. Williams at Nantes, &c., to the amount of nearly the sum of	150,000		
In June, 1777, there remained therefore about	591,815	2	6
	<hr/>		
	Livres 2,000,000	0	0

in the hands of Mr. Grand, and the promise of one million more in the course of the year; two quarterly payments, of September and of December, of 500,000 livres each. Encouraged by the Minister, and urged by the necessities of our country to go to the full extent of the credit which the knowledge of our having monies in the hands of Mr. Grand had given us, we entered into contracts far beyond the extent of those funds, and, besides our increasing expenses, found ourselves subject to daily incidental disbursements for relief of prisoners, for packets, expresses, &c., which we had neither foreseen or provided for. The Congress had given orders to their commercial agents to furnish the Commissioners with money for their expenses and for the purchases made by them; but they were so entirely without funds or remittances of any kind, that nothing was received, or could be expected, from that quarter. Yet the Commissioners ventured to contract with Messrs. Sabbatier, Desprez & Co., for 15,000 suits of cloaths compleat, and for 15,000 pairs of stockings, &c.; advanced 30,000 livres towards payment with Monsr. Monthieu for 10,000 suits of cloaths, for a quantity of copper of tin, for the freight of ships, &c., to the amount of nearly one million of livres; with Mr. Williams for 10,000 suits of cloaths, for the building of the frigate Deane, for the freight of other vessels, and supplies of various kinds, to nearly the amount of one million more; with Coder

for 1,300 suits of cloaths; with Daret & Hennet for arms, &c., to the amount of 24,000 livres; which, with other engagements, in the whole to the amount of near three millions and an half of livres, for the payment of which we had not more than 1,500,000 livres on which we could depend; but the necessity of sending out supplies, and the interval of favorable appearances at Court, from the arrival of the news of the advantages gained at Trenton, until some time in the summer following, induced us to exceed the funds in our power. But the impressions made by that brilliant affair insensibly wore off, and the accounts of Gen. Burgoyne advancing with a formidable army on our frontiers, whilst Gen. Howe, with a still greater force, was going against Philadelphia, reversed the prospect. Fortunately, indeed, during this interval, all the stores purchased by Mr. de Beaumarchais were sent out, though not without great difficulty and expence. Our hopes or prospects at the Court of France were favorable or gloomy and discouraging, according to the complexion of our affairs in America; and from August, 1777, to December following, appearances were extremely against us. The Court of France seemed resolved to withdraw all encouragement and countenance towards us, and prepared to disavow us and our cause, and to leave us to our fate. Sensible that the Court of London could not be ignorant of the part which they had acted, and of the partial aid and encouragement which they had afforded us, they had reason to dread the resentment of a nation at all times inimical to them, now in a fair way, as it appeared, to reduce America to subjection in that campaign, after which all the West India possessions of France must lie at the mercy of a victorious fleet and army, as it were, in their neighborhood, and superior to any force which France could equip in any season to oppose them. They therefore became not only more reserved and distant in their conduct toward us, by denying the Commissioners, in the most peremptory

terms, any audience with the Ministers, and letting them know that even their appearance at Versailles was disagreeable. But they went still farther ; they restored to the English the prizes sent into the ports of France by our cruisers ; they ordered all our merchant vessels to be strictly searched for arms and warlike stores, and seized on all they met with, to a single musket or swivel gun, and sent them on shore ; they forbid any armed American ship to enter any of their ports, and ordered those already there to depart in forty-eight hours, not to return ; and on their being unable to comply, took from them their sails and rudders. This was our situation, and this the true face of our affairs in France, from July and August, 1777, to the arrival of the news of the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne and his army in December following. I do not in the least blame the Court of France on this account. It is allowed by all that the safety of the people is, and ought to be, the supreme law with their governors and ministers ; and the safety of the foreign possessions of France never, at any time, appeared to be in greater danger. The success of the British forces in America appeared to the last degree probable, and on that event France, but partially armed, would have to encounter Great Britain, ready armed, and with her forces already in America, prepared for any invasion of their American possessions, unless by management and address the resentment of Great Britain could be appeased. The situation of the Commissioners at that time was as embarrassing and unfavorable as that of their country. We had contracted for cloathing, stores, and ships to upwards of two millions of livres beyond our funds. All hopes of remittances from America had for some time been given over ; and though we had been verbally encouraged by the Count de Vergennes to make this use of the credit, which the knowledge of our having money in the hands of Mr. Grand and of his acceptance of our bills, had given us, yet he had never even

verbally said, or even hinted, that the Count would enable us to make good our engagements, and the present severe and unfriendly tone of proceedings gave us no ground to expect it. In the mean time the persons with whom we had contracted had purchased the materials, and had advanced far in the execution of their contracts. In September, 1777, I drew up a general state of our engagements and of our funds to answer them, and laid it before my colleagues, from which it appeared that we wanted more than two millions of livres. The management of our affairs had been almost entirely committed to me. Mr. Lee, indeed, says that it had been assumed by me. This is immaterial, for I had no funds to carry on my operations with but through the hands of our common banker, Mr. Grand, whose books were open to Mr. Lee, as well as to Doctor Franklin and myself; and the contracts were not entered into by me singly, but every one of them were signed by Doctor Franklin, and some of them by Mr. Lee, whose absence at the time when some of them were made, on his journey to Berlin, was the reason for his not having signed all of them. He was made acquainted with them, and signed most of the orders on Mr. Grand for the money due on them. Nor at the time, and until long after, did he ever make any objection to them, or to any part of them, except, indeed, in the trifling articles of the fashion of the lappels and of additional buttons. On examining the state of our affairs, no hint was then given, either by Doctor Franklin or Mr. Lee, of any misapplication or unnecessary disbursement of the public money. The only question was how we should find means to proceed and to make face to our engagements. Though we had but little prospect of any thing farther from the Court whilst our intelligence from America was so unfavorable, yet it was agreed to send to the Count de Vergennes—for at that time we were not permitted to see him ourselves—the state of our funds and engagements, and to solicit his advice

and assistance. His verbal answer, reported by the friend who went between us, was, in general, that, for the present, he could do nothing in the affair, but hinted that, as the Court was soon to go to Fontainebleau, it might then be taken into consideration. It is proper to observe that Doctor Franklin was from the first averse to warm and urgent solicitations with the Court of France. His age and experience, as well as his philosophical temper, led him to prefer a patient perseverance, and to wait events, and to leave the Court of France to act from motives of interest only. He used often to say that America was a new and young state, and, like a virgin, ought to wait for the addresses of other powers, rather than to make even the first advances; and what confirmed him in these sentiments was, his having early in the contest made it a fixed and certain point with him that France would not in any circumstances or situation suffer America to return under the dominion of Great Britain.

The Ministers of France became early informed of this disposition, which they found means secretly to confirm him in, and of which they knew how to take advantage. They were not prepared for an open rupture with Great Britain; and so long as America could, by her own resources and secret aids from France, continue to resist and worry the force of Great Britain, and thereby to embarrass the finances of that nation, they were determined not to commit themselves in the dispute. The only event which they had to apprehend anything from whilst they pursued this system, was an accommodation of the dispute and a reconciliation of the two countries; and the violent animosities inseparable from all civil wars afforded a strong security on that side. During the summer of 1777, as I had but few interviews with the Count de Vergennes, and the Commissioners jointly had none, I improved every opportunity, when in company with persons whom I knew to be the honorable spies or informers of the Court, of whatever the Commissioners either

said or did ; to complain with freedom of the distant and reserved, and even of the unfriendly, treatment which America met with ; and to insinuate that a continuation of such conduct must inevitably force us to an accommodation on the best terms, in our power, and that the consequences would be severely felt by France when out of her power to remedy or avert them. Whenever I held this language, it was sure to be reported in a few hours to the Minister, who immediately dispatched an emissary to sound Doctor Franklin on the subject, and to give him encouragement to persevere in the patient system which he had adopted. In the month of August the Baron Steuben made his proposals of going to America. I introduced him to Doctor Franklin, but could not bring the Doctor to pay the least attention to them, or to give the baron any encouragement. I found that the Count de Vergennes interested himself in the Baron's favor, and that his going out to America was as much an object with the Count as with him, even more so ; yet so very cautious was the Minister that he wrote nothing to me on the subject, but to a third person he wrote a letter to be shewn to me. On this I candidly and impartially stated to the Baron the situation of our affairs in America, and our unfavorable prospects in France, and told him that unless the Court of France had resolved to give us effectual aid it would, in my opinion, be to no purpose for him to run the risques of a voyage, and the loss of his time and other prospects, in going to America ; for it was extremely probable that without such assistance America must make the best terms in her power. This conversation was faithfully and without loss of time reported at Versailles, and gave the Ministers all that alarm which I wished to excite. An agent was immediately dispatched to discourse with Doctor Franklin, and to lead him to give his sentiments on the subject, which he did in his usual stile, and very different from those which I had taken this method to impress the Minister with ; and before

he parted he acquainted the Doctor with my conversation with the Baron, by which the Doctor discovered, when too late, that he had unknowingly defeated my well-meant attempt to alarm the Court, and to excite them to do something in our favor. But to prevent him from giving into the same way of thinking and speaking with me, secret but positive assurances were given him that the Court had come to a resolution to act decidedly in our favor ; general assurances of the same nature were given to two of my most intimate acquaintance, through whom it was well known they would reach to me ; and to give the greater weight to them, and probably to answer other political views, orders were sent off with the utmost dispatch to recall the French ships and fishermen from the Banks of Newfoundland ; and to hasten the work on the ships which were building, and of those under repair, a momentary embargo was laid, and it was given out that on the return of the fishermen and the arrival of the West Indian merchant fleets, then soon expected, a formidable fleet would be manned and sent to sea. I am, indeed, and have ever been, of opinion that these measures were taken to effect other political purposes, and the appearance of them improved to satisfy and encourage us ; for even this favorable appearance vanished in a few weeks, and was succeeded by the severities I have already mentioned. The reverse entirely shook Doctor Franklin's confidence, and he so far despaired of procuring even assistance from the Court, to answer the engagements we had entered into, that on examining the state of our accompts, and receiving the answer above mentioned, he advised to stop the execution of the contracts ; and if that could not be done, as they were already far advanced, to sell the articles to the amount of our debts. Our situation was really a distressed and an embarrassing one. We were unable to pay for the cloathing and stores contracted for, nor had we any prospect of being able to send them to America when compleated ; but to stop the contracts,


and to sell what we had on hand, was a measure which, in my opinion, nothing short of the last extremity could justify. I therefore proposed that further application should be made to the Count de Vergennes, then with the Court at Fontainebleau. For this purpose I went thither repeatedly. If the appearance of any of the Commissioners at Versailles gave the Minister uneasiness on account of the suspicions which it might give rise to, at Fontainebleau this uneasiness was increased ten fold. On my first visit I did not obtain an audience of the Count, but informed him of my business through Mr. Gerard. I excused my journey thither, which the extreme necessity of our affairs had forced me on, and motives of curiosity might be alledged for my appearance there, without exciting any suspicions of my real errand. I obtained a promise that my request should be taken into consideration, and was told that no answer could be given until the arrival of a courier from Madrid, which Court was consulted on our affairs, and that it was expected they would bear a part of the monies advanced us. With this answer I returned to Paris, but on reflection was led to conclude that the waiting for the return of the courier from Madrid, &c., was merely to gain time until such intelligence might arrive from America as to induce them to act openly in supporting or abandoning our cause entirely. The period was indeed extremely critical. The last intelligence from America had left Gen. Burgoyne advancing towards Albany, and Gen. Howe towards Philadelphia, and our armies retreating, and apparently in no force to make a successful opposition, or even a stand. I therefore went again to Fontainebleau, with a fixed and declared resolution of remaining there until I obtained a positive answer to my request for money. The Minister appeared uneasy and even displeased at my return. I insisted on and obtained a personal interview with him, but he made it as short as was possible, least it should be known that he saw me; and, on my retiring,

informed me, by a third person, that the courier not being returned from Spain he wished that I would leave Fontainebleau, where the person and business of every stranger, and especially of an American Commissioner, could not escape observation and inquiry. I returned for answer, by the same person, that it was in his power to free himself of any uneasiness on my account, by granting my request, and most probably of all future solicitations on the part of America by the absolute refusal of it; but that I could not think of returning to Paris without a direct and explicit answer. On this I was told that three millions of livres should be furnished Mr. Grand on our account, in quarterly payments, in the next year, and that if the Court of Madrid should be favorably disposed towards us, we might expect something in addition to this sum, which, indeed, never, to my knowledge, happened to be the case with this grant. Though payable in the course of the year, we were able to go through with our engagements, though attended with great expence from the necessity we were under of covering every operation under the names and agency of others, by which we were but too much in their power, of which they seldom failed to take the advantage. The prizes sent in to the ports of France by cruisers and frigates belonging to Congress, though some of them were valuable ones, uniformly and without exception brought us in debt. In the first place we were obliged to put them into the hands, of French agents, to dispose of them and of their cargoes privately; and the expenses which we were not in a situation to dispute, with the bill for repairing and refitting the ships for sea, in every instance exceeded the half of the prize belonging to Congress. Capt. Thompson and Capt. Hinman arrived at L'Orient with two valuable Jamaica ships, prizes, supposed to be worth nearly £18,000 sterling, were sold for 217,000 livres only, and purchased in by the persons entrusted with the sale of them, which was the general practice, and could not be prevented by the Commissioners as they

were then circumstanced. Capt. Thompson and Capt. Hinman represented that their ships, the *Raleigh* and *Alfred*, were in great want of repairs, and obtained a general order to Messrs. Goularde, Berard Freres & Co., who had sold and bought the prizes among them, to supply those ships with such stores as the captains should judge necessary. The Commissioners could not judge of the amount of the repairs, and of course did not limit them; and whilst the captains, the only competent judges, were on the spot, it appeared an unnecessary precaution; but to their surprize, on the sailing of the two frigates, Messrs. Berard Freres & Co. presented bills for repairs and supplies to the two ships, signed by the captains, and amounting to 179,860 5, from which, after deducting the one-half of the amount of the sales of the two Jamaica ships and cargoes, there remained no less than £3,024 14 sterling for the Commissioners to pay these managers who, after the sales, managed as above related, contrived to expend on the repairs and supplies for the two frigates the sum of 179,860 5 livres; or, £7868, 19 sterling; almost as great a sum as the frigate *Deane*, built by Mr. Williams at Nantes, cost, compleated for sea; though in real value the latter was, in value, full equal to the *Raleigh* and *Alfred* united. By this instance, out of many that might be given, though none of equal magnitude, a judgment may be formed of the disbursements to which the Commissioners were liable on account of the armed ships in the service of Congress, which arrived in the ports of France. But the grant or promise of three millions of livres set us at ease as to the debts we had already contracted, though on the return of the Court from Fontainebleau the same unfavorable measures were continued, and the Ministers appeared in the situation of the man who, holding a wolf by the ears, found it equally dangerous to keep his hold or to let him go out of his hands; but their conduct was formed for doing the latter, if events required it, in the easiest and safest manner, and so far

to save appearances as to avoid a rupture with England, on account of what little they had done. Prizes to a considerable value had been sent into Nantes by our cruisers, and to cover the proceedings they were entered as ships coming from St. Eustatia, and their cargoes were exposed to sale ; but on the remonstrance of the original proprietors the sale was stopped, and the ships and cargoes seized and confiscated on account of a false and illegal entry, by which the property became legally vested in the Crown, and the King might as an act of grace give it to the captors or return it to the first owners ; and we were for some time in suspense, and in hopes of the former.

But the *Amphitrite*, which sailed from Havre in December, 1776, with cannon, arms, &c., and had been obliged to put back into L'Orient, and was got again to sea from thence, by clearing her out for St. Domingo, and by giving security to government that she should pursue that voyage, now returned from the continent, having been, by the promise of a large reward to the captain, carried to Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, and there unloaded. At the same time intelligence of the defeat of our army at the Brandywine and of the progress of the army from Canada under Gen. Burgoyne was received. On this the prizes at Nantes were restored to their English owners, and the captain of the *Amphitrite* thrown into a dungeon for the crime of having carried out stores to the United States. Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, we urged on the execution of the contracts for cloathing and other stores, and the equipment of the frigate and other vessels at Nantes, to transport them to America, but were obliged to double our precautions and to cover every operation, even the most simple, under borrowed names. I have not been thus particular with the view of exposing or of censuring the Court of France on account of the part then acted by their Ministers. I am well convinced that they could not, in their situation, have acted a



contrary one consistently with the safety of their commerce and of their foreign possessions ; but I am obliged, in my own vindication, to point out some of the many difficulties under which the Commissioners, and more particularly myself, as the most immediately acting person, then labored. France could not have the least prospect of success in a war with England without a navy of equal force, and though uncommon exertions had been made to build, repair, and equip ships for that purpose, yet the navy of England was still superior. Though our animosity towards our antient friends, now our severest enemies, and our resolution to support our independancy appeared to be fixed and invincible, and though our resistance had been spirited and obstinate, and in some instances successful, yet the contest was extremely unequal ; and should France by any overt act induce Great Britain to withdraw her forces and her attention from America, and turn them on France, her rising navy must, unequal to the shock, be crushed in one campaign ; her commerce and foreign possessions ruined, or torn from her in one or two campaigns ; and her hopes and prospects, with ours, be at once defeated. The subsequent events of the late war shew that these apprehensions were not groundless at the time ; and in such circumstances, and with so much at risque, a prudent and even the most guarded conduct became indispensable. The dismembering and the weakening of the British empire were objects most devoutly wished for by France, and to make us the instruments for effecting these was naturally the great and principal view of her politics, and to which her manœuvres and management with us were directed from the commencement of the contest between us and Great Britain ; but events of a serious complexion in the campaign of 1776, and of 1777, to the time I am speaking of rendered the prospect both doubtful and discouraging. The loss of the battle at Brandywine gave Philadelphia, regarded in France as the capital

and most important city in America, to the enemy. The evacuation of Crown Point and Ticonderoga laid the road open for the army of Gen. Burgoyne to our frontiers without a single redoubt or fortified post to impede their march; and in France, as well as in every kingdom in Europe, it was deemed next to impossible for a badly armed and but partially disciplined militia to oppose a regular and veteran army with success; the enemy in possession of the two capital cities of New York and Philadelphia, and of the town and harbor of Newport, with a victorious army at Albany, and able by their superiority at sea to intercept all foreign supplies and to annihilate our commerce. In the months of September, October, and November, 1777, it was generally believed in France that these would be the events of that campaign, and that thus situated America must accommodate or submit. France from long experience was fully sensible of the resources and energy of the British power in a maritime war, and of the hereditary and invincible rivalry and enmity of that nation; and that though the American contest had divided the nation into parties by which the Ministers had to contend with a strong opposition to all their measures, yet it was well known that a war with France alone was at all times popular in England, and seldom failed to unite all parties, however unjustifiable the war might be on the part of that nation. Under these circumstances the Court of France had every possible motive for caution and circumspection, whilst we were led to view things in a very different light. We had, with but little foreign aid, supported the war for more than two years, and at times with success; hence, and from the publications in England, and speeches made in Parliament, representing the nation as being without resources and sinking under the weight of debts and taxes already incurred, we were induced to flatter ourselves that Great Britain had already made the utmost efforts in her power; and that, as we had already in a great measure resisted and

baffled them, we concluded that simply the declaration of France in our favor would finish the contest in the way we wished for. Mr. Lee was so fully persuaded of this, that he often said at the time that he was positive that the declaration of any one power in Europe in our favor would induce Great Britain to relinquish the contest. Mr. Lee had resided a long time in London, had had access to some of the first characters in the state, and professed to have a thorough knowledge of the resources of the nation ; it will not, therefore, be thought surprizing that one in my situation, and with my means of knowledge, who had never been in England, and in Europe but a short time only, should entertain the same, or nearly the same opinion ; nor that, in consequence of it, I should be impatient and uneasy at the cautious and reserved conduct of France, and do everything in my power to bring that Court into other measures, such as should beyond a question commit them in the dispute ; but I have, on reflection, been convinced of my misinformation and misapprehension of things at that time, and of the errors in judgment to which I was thereby exposed ; and doubtless I ought, at the time, to have reflected that, having engaged in the war against Great Britain from necessity, and on the principles of self defence only, and without asking either advice or assistance from France, we could have no claim on France for anything ; and though France, from motives of interest, the only ones by which states ought to be governed, must wish us success, as thereby Great Britain would be weakened, yet that we had no right to expect that France would commit herself in an unequal or in a doubtful contest on our account, or in expectation of advantages which were not certain, or with the greatest degree of probability on their side. That, in the situation of the marine of France in 1777, if the unfavorable prospects in America already mentioned had been realised by us, it was the indispensable interest of France to abandon our cause, and

to do it in such a manner, by publicly disavowing transactions which they had at least winked at before, as to disarm any resentment of Great Britain on that account; and that the severities or unfavorable measures of which we complained at the time were a necessary part of that wise and politic system, and that had the then expected events obliged France to have executed the resolution of abandoning us, we had nothing to complain of with any rational foundation. Though the Court of France reasoned in this manner at the time, yet we could not. The interest and the distresses and dangers of our country prevented us from seeing things through an impartial and disclosed medium. Mankind are extremely prone to make extravagant estimates of their own importance, and we rated ours so high as to suppose that all the powers in Europe, but especially France, were interested in our success, and in the establishment of our independence in preference to every other consideration. In a word, we were actuated by the passion and distress and prejudices of the moment, whilst the Court of France, though by no means disinterested, reasoned coolly, and turned her eyes over the present scene, and forward to the consequences of her engaging in behalf of a cause apparently so desperate, and not without serious apprehensions on account of the partial aid and countenance already afforded to us. For myself, I confess that I was so fully persuaded that a declaration of France in our favor, or any measure that would commit her in the dispute on our part, would immediately bring G. Britain to terms, and relieve my country, that I attempted every thing in my power to effect it; nor should I have thought any sacrifice on my part too great for the acquisition of that point. In this temper, and attended with these circumstances, the summer and autumn of 1777 passed. The articles proposed by Congress for a treaty between the United States and France were unmentioned and unheard of from the time of the presenting of them in January, 1776.

The Commissioners had no interviews with the Minister, or intercourse by writing, except by petitions and requests on their part, to which sometimes a verbal, but more commonly no answer at all, was returned. On the imprisonment of the captain of the *Amphitrite*, all concerned in the equipment of that ship were alarmed, and none more so than Mr. de Beaumarchais, when the arrival of the unexpected intelligence of the surrender of General Burgoyne and his army dissipated our fears and changed the scene. The Parliament had been assembled in November, and just before their meeting the Commissioners had dispatched letters for Congress by the way of Havre du Grace, in which they had given a very discouraging account of their situation and prospects, and had without reserve acquainted Congress and their friends with the unfavorable proceedings of the Court of France towards them, and that they could not rely on any thing from thence. At this time there happened to be two Americans at Havre, a Capt. Hynson from Maryland, and Capt. Folger from Nantucket. The former had been employed by the Commissioners in the purchase of a cutter at Dover, and in other business of that kind, and had been promised the command of a vessel to America, or to go on a cruise against the enemy, which he appeared very ambitious of obtaining. It had so happened that no suitable employ had offered, except such as from other circumstances the Commissioners had been obliged to give to other persons. At length a company of French merchants proposed the equipment of a strong ship from Havre, to cruise and to make a voyage to America. They purchased the ship and engaged Hynson to take the command of her, and he was at Havre to superintend the fitting out the ship. Folger, who was personally known to Doctor Franklin, and a distant relation of his, was there in search of employ, or of a passage to America. The Commissioners engaged a cutter at Nantes to carry out their letters, and Hynson, having quarrelled with the armateur of the ship, Mons. Eyries, the de-

signed expedition was suspended, and Hynson again out of employ. The Commissioners therefore resolved to give the command of the cutter and the care of the dispatches to one of them. Hynson, from his repeated disappointments, had a claim to the preference, but the safe arrival of the dispatches was of the utmost importance, and depended in a great measure on the captain's having a thorough knowledge of the coast of America; and in this no man exceeded, perhaps no one then in Europe equalled, Folger, who had passed his whole life in the coasting trade, and in the whale fishery along the coast. He was therefore to be preferred to Hynson. But as it was not certain that Folger might not have already engaged himself in some other voyage, the dispatches were sent to Hynson, with a letter ordering him to deliver them to Folger, together with instructions to Folger to take the command of the cutter, and to proceed with them to America, in case that Folger should not be under other engagements; but if he was, then Hynson was ordered to take the charge of the dispatches and the command of the cutter to America. It happened that Folger was under no engagement, and Hynson, who had been tampered with both in England and at Paris, and, as I have since learned, had formed a close and intimate acquaintance with a certain person at Havre, who was suspected of being in the British interest, soured by previous disappointments, and resenting the present preference given to Folger, contrived to take from under the covers of the letters our dispatches, and to substitute blank paper in their place, without breaking the seals. He received our dispatches over night, and delivered them thus plundered to Folger the next morning, and in a day or two after set off for London with his stolen intelligence, where he arrived in season to give the Ministers intelligence. [The continuation of the letter and appendix missing.]

Thomas Mss.

TO BARNABAS DEANE.

London, April 7th, 1785.

DEAR BROTHER,—I wrote you a few days since by a private ship bound to Boston, but Mr. Hopkins going out, I improve the opportunity to repeat summarily what I then wrote, that I would have Wharton and Trent's deeds entered on record, and the lands sold if they will bring a sum anything near the demand on them; that sum of money would be of great service to me at this time, as it would enable me to put in execution a plan which I have long since meditated, and which must, in my opinion, prove favorable. I remember to have heard a report of there being symptoms of a cobalt mine somewhere below Middletown, or in Middle Haddam, and a gentleman having given me a few samples of the ore, I send them in a box marked No. 1, &c. The expence of inquiry will be not great, and there may be at least a possibility that such a mine may exist in that part of the country. It is nowhere in Europe, except in Saxony, and it is exceedingly dear; the best sort upwards of ten guineas the pound, and so down, according to the quality. It is used to give the fine purple and blue colors to porcelain or china ware. If you can procure any samples of what they have supposed to be cobalt, and which in any degree resemble these, it may be well to send them over to be assayed, as the expence will be trifling, and the consequences may be important. We have had the longest winter ever known; for it still freezes and snows, and the wind for near two months has been invariably from the eastern quarter, so that we have had nothing from your quarter a long time since, and we have nothing worth sending you from hence. The Minister has appointed a Consul General, and there is a report that a treaty of commerce is to be entered on soon, and that for that purpose our Commissioners are to come over here from

Paris. If so, I shall make one more effort to do something towards a close of my accmpts. My compliments to all friends, particularly Col. Wylls and Col. Wadsworth. I am, Dear Brother,
Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Barnabas Deane.

Thomas Mss.

TO BARNABAS DEANE.

Castle Head, in Lancashire, May 9th, 1785.

DEAR BROTHER,—I have this day wrote to Gurdon Saltonstall, Esq., on a subject for the particulars of which refer you to him, as he best knows them in detail. The substance, however, is this: There is an estate in Brimfield of about 3,000 acres, belonging to the Winthrop family, on which there is a black lead mine. Certain gentlemen here have proposed to join with me in the purchase of it, if to be had at the value of the lands without any consideration for the mine, or if the proprietors will lease the mine for 99 years at the rate of being allowed one 24th part of the value of the black lead delivered at the mouth of the mine as a rent, or, as it is here called, a royalty. It appears by a letter from Gurdon Saltonstall, Esq., that there are a number of claimants. The principal difficulty, therefore, is in obtaining a sale or lease from the whole of them. You may rationally conclude that the gentlemen who propose this speculation would not engage in it without some prospect of gain; but as in every attempt of this kind there is much risque, they will not submit to run any farther than of the sums by them expended in making the experiment; and the lands purchased at their just value will, if the mine on trial does not answer their expectations, be resold at the first cost; and if leased as above, they can quit it

whenever they think proper, and put up with the loss of their expenses. Gurdon Saltonstall, Esq., you may remember, was some years since in pursuit of this mine, as part of the Winthrop estate. Recollecting this, I mentioned to some gentlemen that there was such a mine in America, and wrote to Gurdon Saltonstall, Esq., for farther information. He has given me all in his power, and on the strength of that this adventure is proposed. If the title to the land is already ascertained, and it is on sale, I wish that you would engage it, and send me an account of the quantity and price, and I will send you the names of the gentlemen who are the purchasers, in whose names the deeds are to be made, with orders to draw on them for the amount. But if in this situation, and not to be sold, but to be leased, then pray you to take a lease without delay in your own name, and advise me of it and of your expenses therein, on which, will order the same to be paid and the lease to be assigned over to the parties concerned. I apprehend, however, that the title will not be settled on the arrival of this, or that, if it is, it will fall to a number, and in the purchase of their right some address must be made use of ; and I presume it will not be prudent for you or for Mr. Gurdon Saltonstall to appear active in it, as it will cause suspicion, and still more so if it be known that the acquisition is for foreigners ; therefore it must be done by an agent in whom confidence can be placed, and of this you and Mr. Gurdon Saltonstall must be the best judges. I am now, and for some weeks past have been, in the country with one of the gentlemen referred to above. Shall return to town in a few days, when I will write you more at large. Meantime I am, my Dear Brother,

Yours,

S. DEANE.

To Mr. Barnabas Deane.

Thomas Mss.

TO SABATIER AND DESPREZ.

London, July 15th, 1785.

GENTLEMEN,—You must remember, and will find on your books, that my brother, jointly with myself, were interested in the ship *Deux Amis* to the amount of 63,527, 10 livres, and in the *Polacre Union*, 18,187, 10 livres, which sums were procured to be insured on our account. Your objection to accounting for these sums has been solely on account of an unsettled affair of yours in the hands of my brother. I have now the satisfaction of informing you, if my brother has not already done it, that my brother has settled that affair, and has paid the balance due you, and that so long since as in July, 1782, when I had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Solier in London, he told me that he had not received any account of this from Mr. Holker. I confess that this is astonishing conduct in him, but it ought not to cause further injury to my brother and self by a longer delay ; and I rely on your honor and justice for an immediate settlement, for I am in great distress for the balance. On the 2d of July, 1782, my brother's accompt with you was settled, and on the 4th he paid the balance into the hands of Mr. Holker's agent. Of this I have attested copies in my hands.

The accompt was settled by a reference to arbitration. The sum found due to you was 92,949½ weight of tobacco. You see, therefore, gentlemen, the necessity, as well as justice, of an immediate settlement ; and therefore I rely on it that you will furnish me with your accompt and with orders to draw on you for the balance.

I have the honor, etc.,

S. DEANE.

To Sabatier, Fils, and Desprez.

Thomas Mss.

TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE TREASURY.

London, July 15th, 1785.

GENTLEMEN,—On my return to France in 1780, to arrange and settle those transactions in which I had been concerned whilst Agent and Commissioner for the Congress of the United States, I even found myself, from unforeseen events, obliged to borrow money for my subsistence, and, among others, from the Hon. Doctor Franklin. My note of hand to him will shew the amount. In my accompt with Congress I improperly charged 850 livres paid for him, which sum must be deducted from said note, and be passed to my Dr. On the balance I agreed to pay 5 per cent. interest, although it is not expressed in the obligation. But you will see in my accompt before you that on my leaving Paris in 1778, that I left with Doctor Franklin plate and other furniture to as large, or to a larger, amount, for the use of the Commissioners and Ministers of Congress, which articles were purchased by Mr. Grand, then Banker for Congress, and passed to my debit. I must, therefore, request that you will pay the balance due on my note to Doctor Franklin, and charge me therewith.

From a letter which I received from Mr. Barclay, I find that he has made some progress in examining into the state of my accompts; but the letter arriving when I was far from London, to which I returned but a few days since, I have not had time to reply to the queries he makes therein, but shall satisfy him in a few days on that subject. In the mean time permit me to renew, and again to urge, my request, that Mr. Barclay may have power and instructions to submit any disputable article in my accompts to disinterested and impartial reference, and to make a final settlement of this too long procrastinated subject, which will relieve me from the inexpressible distress into

which the delay has plunged me, and, I presume, be of service to the United States.

I have the honor, &c.,

S. DEANE.

The Commissioners of Congress Treasury.

Mss. Harvard University.

TO SAMUEL B. WEBB.

London, July 16th, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received yours by Col. Smith, which is the only letter of yours which has come to my hand for almost three years. You can therefore easily judge what has become of those you mention. I have wrote several, and one very long one on the subject of our family and private affairs; and at the same time one on the same subject to your brother, to which having received no answer, I have for more than twelve months past omitted writing. I have, indeed, had very little correspondence in America, though I never more wished for an extensive one, to know, if possible, the true situation of affairs in my country; for nothing certain can be collected from the accounts given by those who come from thence, their reports are so extremely various and discordant. But from the whole which I can collect from those concerned in trade there and here, our commerce is already in the situation, which in my ill fated letters of 1781, I predicted that it would, and must necessarily be, under independence; and from the high price of provisions, I fear that our agriculture is in no better a state; for I see by the papers that wheat, and consequently bread, is at least 25 per cent. dearer in Connecticut and New York than in this city.

You referred me to Col. Smith for information, but I put no queries to him, except of a private nature, respecting your situation, and that of a few other friends, in whose welfare I shall ever feel myself nearly

interested. Col. Smith appears to be a polite and sensible man; but being in an official capacity, it would not have been right or decent in me to ask of him information on political subjects. It is not from any desire or wish to engage again in politics that I seek for information; but as I must, and that soon, enter on some line for retrieving my shipwrecked fortunes, and as no man has, or can have, stronger prepossessions in favor of his native country than those which influence me, I would prefer doing this in America, if I could do it with any tolerable prospect of success and security; but if the reins of government are held with so feeble a hand that the multitude feel no restraint, or next to none, on their passions and prejudices, the prospect cannot be a promising one. I speak not of my personal security; I am under no apprehensions on that account; but without a firm and energetic government there can be no security against the worst and most extensive of all evils, anarchy, which, like the hydra, has heads sufficient to devise every kind of mischief, and hands, in proportion, to execute.

In ordinary commotions in States, or in wars between rival powers, individuals may, with a tolerable share of prudence, remain secure; may retire under their own roof, and patiently listen to the raging of the storm; but when anarchy prevails nothing is too high and strong, or so low and humble, as to escape its fury. God forbid that my country should again experience this in any degree! But there are in the accounts sent and brought over but too many dangerous symptoms of its approach, and therefore it is that I am so anxious to know the truth; not that I have any view of entering into any commercial life in America. I made up my mind four years since as to the state in which our commerce must necessarily be when alienated from this Kingdom and placed in the state of a foreign and independent power. What I then predicted has already arrived, earlier, indeed, than what I expected.

But, so far as I can form any judgment on the subject, the worst is still behind, and the sooner it arrives the better ; for then, and not before, our affairs will be in the way of mending, though slow ; for nothing short of an exchange of our present manners and habits for those of industry and rigid economy and punctuality in our dealings can render us in any degree comfortable at home and respectable abroad.

At present, I am sorry to say it, the American character is far from being reputable in any part of the commercial world. In France and Holland all those who during the late war or since have had any considerable dealings in America have failed. Since the war our commerce has returned into its old channel, and from two good reasons. This country has the articles which we want, and its merchants are willing and able to give a credit ; but not having our former means for the making of remittances, those who have given credit here have already suffered, and must suffer still more. The late proceedings at Boston, if followed in other parts of the States, will give the finishing blow to our character as a nation, and to our credit as individuals. The Boston resolutions, however dressed off with pretence, speak a language too plain to be misunderstood. It is nothing less than this : "*You British merchants have given us a credit, and placed a confidence in us, which we could not obtain elsewhere. Know ye, therefore, that unless your government will enable us to pay you what we owe you, by giving to us commercial privileges denied to every other, even the most favored, nation, we cannot, and will not, pay you.*" And many imagine they will succeed by such a conduct to force or bully this country into a compliance. But they will find themselves in an error, and that this government will not give up its navigation act to save a few rash and credulous merchants in this country from bankruptcy, or from the ridiculous threats of the Bostonians and others of stopping any further trade with Great Britain. I say ridiculous. Can any thing be more so than for

a debtor, after having taken of his creditor goods to five times the amount of what he is able to pay, to threaten that unless he will give him certain indulgencies, and comply with such terms as he shall dictate, that he will stop his dealings with him?

Since my residence in this country, I have paid a close and constant attention to the actual state of its trade and commercial resources. I have been through the manufacturing towns and made my observations and inquiries with the utmost impartiality, and confess myself astonished to find how very ignorant we have been, and most of us still are, on this subject. Even during the late war, when all intercourse with us and several other nations was suspended, very few of the manufacturers felt any inconvenience from it, or suffered materially, the nailmakers and one or two other branches excepted, and their sufferings were but temporary; for they soon turned into other branches of manufacture, for which new demands arose; and the manufacturing towns, without exception, increased in the number of houses and inhabitants during that period, which is the most evident proof of what I have asserted. And now, although the peace has been of but about two years standing, the demand for the manufactures of this country has become so great on the continent of Europe, that exchange is in favor of London, from every city on the continent—with Paris, nearly ten per cent. ; with Amsterdam, eight ; and with others in proportion ; and silver and gold never were known to be at so low a price in this city as at this time. From facts like these, and not from the uninformed declaimers on your side of the water, or the writings of croakers on this side, you will form a true judgment on this important subject.

Most of our countrymen who visit England return as ignorant of the nature and extent of its commerce as when they came out, and not a few of them more so ; for during their residence they generally associate with disappointed and disaffected persons here, who

constantly exclaim that the country is on the verge of final bankruptcy and ruin. Business or pleasure take up their attention ; for the latter, they confine themselves to theatres, taverns, and bagnios in London ; for the former, they make out invoices and apply to merchants for a credit, if they make an excursion to Birmingham, or other of the great manufacturing towns. One day's residence in each answers their purpose, for their object is to order the manufactures, not to learn how they are made, or to enquire into the construction of those ingenious machines by which they are afforded at so low a rate. My circumstances naturally led me into a different style of conduct. I had no money to purchase with ; and though I might have any credit I should have asked for, yet I could not, foreseeing, as I then did, what has since happened, consistently with honor, have asked for or received a credit. Therefore I applied myself to acquire some knowledge of the nature and economy of their works, and of the construction of their machines. The manufacturers and their workmen gave me every information that I wished for ; but from the minuteness of my enquiries, and the attention which I paid to every thing relating to their works, they became jealous, and immediately after my leaving them came to an agreement to admit no more strangers into their manufacturies. This way, I flatter myself, that I have acquired some useful knowledge. It is not the cheapness of labor in this country, as is generally supposed, which enables them to manufacture at so cheap a rate, but the use of machines, which they have invented to lessen manual operations, and their ingenious division, distribution, and combination of the several parts of their work. Labor is dearer here than in any part of Europe, and full as dear as it was with us before the late war. A common manufacturer earns from twelve shillings to thirteen shillings the week, and the more ingenious twice as much.

The late improvements in the steam engine have

opened vast resources. I have seen a mill for carding and spinning of cotton, which spun near five thousand threads at once, turned by one wheel, put in motion by a steam engine; a corn mill, with ten pair millstones, worked in the same way. They blow their furnaces and strike their hammers by this engine. I have carefully studied it, and am intimately acquainted with the ingenious inventors of it, who are making an immense fortune by it; and this I wish to introduce into America, had I the means of doing it, and could have an exclusive privilege for a certain number of years. A mill might be set up in Boston, or in New York, or Philadelphia, to carry ten pair stones, at the expence of about two thousand pounds sterling; and I know of nothing that would turn to greater account, as with this you may work constantly night and day, and be independent and free from those accidents of floods, drouths, etc., to which other mills are subject and exposed; besides which, there is no expence for land carriage, as the mill may be erected in the middle of a town, as well as any where. I am about to form a company for this purpose, to erect several in different parts of America, if to be done with patents or exclusive privileges for a certain term of time; and have already wrote to several of my friends in America on the subject. Something of this nature will be infinitely preferable to any thing that can be done in commerce, situated as it is at present. I am ignorant as to your views or prospects, and therefore lay this but generally before you for your reflection; and if I succeed in my plan, and you are disposed to be concerned, you will let me know, and to what extent. I have made this letter so very long, I may almost say voluminous, that I will not add farther than to assure you that I am, and ever shall remain,

Your affectionate friend and well wisher,

S. DEANE.

Col. Samuel B. Webb.

Ford's Correspondence of Samuel B. Webb, III., 48.

my last letters. In the mean time, with compliments to friends (if I have any left in America), I am, My Dear Brother,

Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

To Mr. Barnabas Deane.

Thomas Mss.

FROM LORD SHEFFIELD.

Sheffield Place, August 14th, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—Lady Sheffield and I had flattered ourselves that we should hear before this time that you intended a visit to Sheffield Place. You are in great favour with the ladies of this place, and they begin to complain of neglect. I do not know in what part of the world you now exist, but I shall direct to your old lodgings, in hopes this letter will be forwarded to you. Pray let us hear of you. I am liable to be absent for a short time occasionally, and wish to have a few days notice when you can favour us with your company, lest I should be from home.

I am, Dear Sir, Your faithful hble Servt,

SHEFFIELD.

To Silas Deane, Esq.,

No. 135 Fleet St., London.

Thomas Mss.

TO BARNABAS DEANE.

London, Oct. 1st, 1785.

DEAR BROTHER,—I expected before this to have received an answer to mine from Castle Head, in Lancashire (date forgot), on the subject of the black lead mine, and on obtaining patents for the exclusive use of certain machines. This will inform you that I have

agreed with Mr. Noyes * of Boston to solicit a patent from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, if you have not already petitioned on the subject ; and if you have, to co-operate with you. My terms are, in general, to manage the business here of procuring and sending out the materials, models, &c., &c., and to receive one third part of the profits, which, as I have no capital to put in, is as much as I can expect.

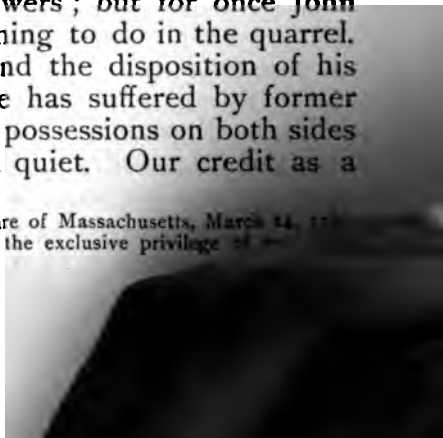
I hope you will obtain a similar act or grant from Connecticut and New York and New Jersey. It can cost little more than the trouble of solicitation. I have wrote to Mr. Morris to solicit one at Philadelphia, Lower Counties, and Maryland, and to our Simeon Deane at Virginia.

The meer having such a grant through the states will be sufficient to make me raise a capital here, equal to entering on business with some prospect of retrieving past misfortunes. I send you inclosed the copy of a petition, which may be altered as counsel shall advise, and be signed by you or any other whom you may choose for the purpose, on condition of his conveying the right, when obtained, to me, or to you, or to order.

I am impatient to hear from you on the subject of the black lead mine, as are the gentlemen who wish to take a share in it.

News we have none more than you will meet with in the papers. A war is threatened on the continent. The event is still doubtful. Should it take place, it will most probably be a very general one among all the northern continental powers ; but for once John Bull will probably have nothing to do in the quarrel. The state of his finances, and the disposition of his servants, with the losses he has suffered by former continental commotions and possessions on both sides the Atlantic, will keep him quiet. Our credit as a

* An Act was passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts, March 24, 1790, giving to Paul Revere and John Noyes the exclusive privilege of a steam engine for manufacturing iron.



THE DEANE PAPERS.

people or nation, and as individuals, is low beyond any thing you can conceive of ; but this is a disagreeable subject, on which I will say no more. My compliments to sister Buck and other friends.

I am, Dear Brother, Yours,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Barnabas Deane.

Thomas M.

OBSERVATIONS RESPECTING A NAVIGABLE CANAL FROM
LAKE CHAMPLAIN TO THE ST. LAWRENCE.

Submitted to Lord Dorchester by Silas Deane.

Whether it might be for the interest of Great Britain that the States of America should return to their former connection with this country, is a question on which there are different opinions ; but as there is now very little probability of such an event, I shall avoid any discussion thereof.

The American States are at this time but little removed from anarchy, and their credit, political as well as commercial, is reduced almost as low as possible ; and yet, when their local situations and circumstances are maturely considered, it will appear that collectively they must eventually become of great importance to every European power which has possessions, either insular or continental, in that quarter of the world. It will hardly be possible for these States to continue long united in a general confederation, and whenever a disunion shall take place it will separate the strong from the weak, the North from the Southern States, the east and north from the west, and New England from the rest of the continent.

already populous, and they are the only States in America in which a maritime and adventurous spirit predominates.

They are acknowledgedly but four at present, but will soon be six. Vermont is, in fact, already independent, and the province of Maine will be so in a few years, by which there will be six States, united by blood, manners, religion, and every tie which unites and holds men in one common interest. They have sprung from one common stock, from English ancestors, who first settled in New England, and at this time more than one half of the inhabitants of New York and New Jersey are emigrants, or descendants of emigrants, from the New England States. When to this circumstance that of the local situation of this Northern Division is added, it is highly probable they will continue for a long time after this separation united among themselves, and that they will for ever give laws to the rest of the States, who, from their situation, dissonant manners and habits, and from the heterogeneous tempers or materials (as I may say) of which they are composed, have no basis on which they will ever be able to form a lasting union.

In case of a war between Great Britain and France or Spain, the friendship of this Northern Division of the American States will be of very great importance; for although they have not at present, and probably will not soon have, a maritime force of any great strength, yet they can, by the number and hardiness of their seamen, do infinite mischief to the commerce of that power against which they may take part.

During the late war the American privateers made a greater number of prizes of British vessels than France, Spain, or Holland together, and this although they fitted out their cruisers under every disadvantage; and of the armed vessels which made these depredations in the British trade four out of five belonged to this Northern Division. This recent instance justifies me in saying that it will be of very great importance when-

ever the supposed disunion takes place to secure the friendship and alliance of the Northern States ; whilst the Southern States will never be of any consequence, except in point of commerce.

Mutual convenience and interest form the most sure basis for a permanent alliance between nations, and in this instance both are to be found ; for there is no nation in Europe with whom an alliance can be so natural and beneficial to the above mentioned States as with Great Britain. In peace four-fifths of their commerce must centre in this Kingdom ; and in war no power can assist or distress them so much as this can, by a maritime force at Halifax, or an army at Canada. Their present ill temper will soon subside and pass off, and there is more of it to be met with in newspapers than any where else.

It is not my design to enter on a detail of those measures which ought to be adopted and pursued on this subject, much less to recommend a treaty with Congress in their present weak and divided state, in which they must necessarily remain until the above mentioned division takes place (and this is much nearer than is generally apprehended) ; for in the actual state of things in America there is, in fact, no power to treat with ; and from the nature of the commerce between the two countries, and the present state of it, there is nothing, or next to nothing, to treat about.

But when the Northern shall be separated from the Southern States, a more firm and efficient system of government will be adopted by the former, and the friendship and alliance of this division of the States will be infinitely preferable to any treaty whatever with the whole.

I think, therefore, that Great Britain will act wisely in looking forward to these events, and being ready to take advantage of them ; and this will be most effectually done by being able, in case of a future war in which the Northern States may be disposed to join, to do them the most essential services on one hand, or

the greatest mischiefs on the other, according to the part they may take.

The situation of Halifax is such that a maritime force stationed there can, with the utmost facility, command the whole of the coast, and intercept their commerce; and Lake Champlain, extending two hundred miles from north to south, from the centre of Canada to the centre of the frontiers (and far within them) of this Northern Division, presents an object of great importance for the above purpose.

If the Northern Division and Confederation of the American States are masters of this lake they can, if hostile to Great Britain, distress, and even destroy, the settlements in Canada; on the other hand, if Great Britain at this time takes such measures as will secure the future command of this lake, her possessions in Canada will, in case of hostilities, be secure, and she may thence carry the war into the heart of the enemies' country. By the late treaty of peace nearly the whole of this lake is included in the territory of the American States. The country round it, and down the rivers running into it, is already in a great degree settled by emigrants from New England, and will in a few years become as populous as any part of America. But those settlers cannot find a market for the production of their labour but over this lake and through Canada; nor can they be supplied with those heavy articles from abroad, without which they cannot exist, but through the same channel; for if they look southward for markets, the distance and the expenses of carriage are intolerable.

This commerce is in many respects an important object to this country. It will of itself create a large and annually increasing demand for coarse and heavy manufactures, in return for which there will be sent into the river St. Lawrence the finest masts and spars of any in America, and in the greatest quantity, for the British navy, and beyond comparison the best oak timber of any in America for butt, pipe, hogshead, or

barrel staves for the British or West Indian markets. The most material articles wanted in the British West Indies from the continent of America are flour, horses, fish, and lumber, principally staves for rum and molasses casks or hogsheads.

Other necessities may be had from other countries, and some may be raised in the Islands; and some articles consumed by them at present may be dispensed with, but oak staves cannot. Nova Scotia and Newfoundland can supply fish, and Canada flour in large quantities, and some horses.

Canada also produces many other articles consumed in the West Indies, and were a trade open'd and encouraged from thence to the Islands, the British possessions on the Continent might soon be brought to supply her Islands with everything, except what may be sent on better terms from Europe.

Canada has little or no pine fit for masts, and no oak of any value. These deficiencies may be abundantly supplied by opening a navigable canal from Lake Champlain round the rapids or falls at St. John's into the navigable waters below them, and by opening a free trade with Vermont, and with the frontiers of New England and of New York. By this it will at all times be in the power of Great Britain to send a naval force into that lake and command the navigation of it, and thence, whatever may happen, it will not be the interest of New England and New York to be on unfriendly terms with the British government.

By this all the trade of that extensive country, the inhabitants of which are rapidly increasing, will centre in Canada, which will be of more service and benefit to Great Britain than if all that country round the lake had been included in her American dominions at the peace.

Whenever the division of the States takes place, it must also necessarily be in the manner I have mention'd, and in all future times subsequent to that revolution the Southern States, whether united or not, must have the same friends and the same enemies with

the Northern, on account of their inferiority in numbers and strength, and from their local situation.

London, October 25, 1785.

Brymner's Canadian Archives, 1889.

TO BARNABAS DEANE.

London, October 30th, 1785.

DEAR BROTHER,—My last went by Mr. Noyes of Boston. It is now many months since I have been favored with a line from you or any of my friends in America. This is in a few words, to intreat of you to join with Doctor Bancroft's brother in trying to bring the affairs with Wharton and the late Major Trent to a close. Doctor Bancroft writes by this conveyance to his brother on the same subject; and I am content to be a great loser rather than to suffer longer delay. If the lands will sell for any thing near their value, let them be sold without loss of time; or if Wharton or the executors of Trent will settle the demand on any such terms of composition as shall appear reasonable to you and Mr. D. Bancroft, I pray they may be accepted of. But no terms short of ready payment can be of any service to us, unless a credit of three or four months on indubitable security (if such can be had) will help out the sale and prevent too great a loss. Doctor Bancroft and myself have a joint interest in those securities; therefore if you can realize them, let their avails be remitted to us jointly. I am impatient under your long silence; and as I may write again in a few days, will not add to this, except to request of you to give my affectionate love to my son and to our sister Hannah Buck and family, and compliments to Col. G. Wylls.

I am in haste, Dear Brother, Yours,

S. DEANE.

N. B.—I heard that Major Trent was dead, but am since told that he is recovered.

To Mr. Barnabas Deane.

Thomas Mss.

FROM ROBERT MORRIS.

Philadelphia, Dec. 5th, 1785.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge your favors of December 14th, and of May 15th, last. These contain three points on which to reply. First, as to the fifteen thousand livres which Mr. Ross received from Mr. Chaumont. Mr. Holker has taken care to put that matter out of question between us, by claiming back from me the sum so received on account of Mr. Chaumont, and thus it is involved in the general mass of those transactions, which he has indiscreetly and unjustly made the subject of legal investigation. Secondly: As to the erection of machines in this country, I am perfectly of opinion with you, that they will greatly benefit the parties concerned. I doubt much whether an exclusive right could be obtained; neither do I conceive any such to be necessary. There are many reasons why I cannot profit of your offer to take a concern in this business. My concerns and engagements are already so numerous as to employ all my time and money. For this reason it is now my study rather to contract than extend them. Thirdly: What reception you might meet in this country is very difficult to determine. You cannot be ignorant that a great flame was kindled by the publication of your letters. The heat is not [letter torn and words missing] of Britain, however, it may [words missing] does, does by no means coincide with our wishes, and in the ferment of opinions on that subject your enemies would probably direct the public odium against you on your arrival in America. This is one

side of the picture. You will find, on the other, that the resentments against our disaffected daily subside. Being convinced, on all hands, that the power of Britain can never be established in the United States, they are content to become good citizens thereof, and the people in general seem disposed to receive them. It might, therefore, be supposed that your wish to return would not be very strenuously opposed. If you should return, you will naturally expect, and will not therefore be disappointed, should you meet a cold reception from those with whom you were once on terms of intimacy. Many will persist in attributing your conduct to bad motives, and will not believe in the assurances you give to the contrary. Others (if convinced) will not avow that conviction, nor act in conformity to it. Those, therefore (and they are but few), who have charged your errors to imprudence, not wickedness, being unable to stem the torrents, must give way to it. From the hand of time alone can you expect that the impressions against you will be obliterated; but, in the course of things, a time will come when people will be disposed to hear you and to believe [words missing] because of such an opportunity [words missing] the ultimate opinion. In giving you these sentiments, I acquit myself of a duty. Your letters required that I should speak on the subject, and a regard to truth renders what I say painful to myself, and I fear to you. I am, Sir, Your most obedient & most humble servant,

ROBT. MORRIS.

Silas Deane, Esq., London.

Thomas Mss.

THICKNESSE'S DESCRIPTION OF DEANE.

Letter 38. Brussels, [1783].

TALKING of thinking, I must tell you that I have had many long and serious conversations here with

Mr. Silas Deane,* a thinking man, a sensible man, and I think a well meaning man; but yet he has so contrived it, that he cannot trust his person either in America, France, or Great Britain! He is a piece of a Scotchman, was a school-master in some interior town in America; the same where Betty Canning of infamous memory was married to a simple man of small fortune, and where, Mr. Deane says, she was treated with that contempt which is due to an idle trapes, who told an idle story, not much more absurd than that told by Archibald Bower, and his escape from the inquisition twenty years before.

A Year's Journey through the Pais Bas, by Philip Thicknesse. London, 1786. Page 296.

TO BARNABAS DEANE.

London, March 17th, 1786.

DEAR BROTHER,—I received your letter addressed to care of Mr. Church, date I have forgot, for affected extremely by the contents, and vexed to find that it had been opened, I threw it into the fire after perusing it twice. I resolved to write you largely by the bearer of this, Mr. Geyer, but have been prevented by the suddenness of his departure, and on account of the arrival of Mr. Sherbrooke with whom I have had but one conversation as yet. He is one of my creditors, and is my friend, and through him hope to satisfy the others who have threatened me in a manner little becoming gentlemen; in a few days, therefore, I shall sit down to give you a minute detail of my situation, and probably of a resolution which may surprize you, of which I can say no more at present than that I have handsome offers to undertake a commercial concern (myself a partner) in a distant country. The prospect is good, but it requires much and serious

* See Deane's letter to Thicknesse, ante, page 117.

reflection on a subject which will decide my future situation and pursuits in life, and the decision now rests with me. Mr. Geyer did not expect to sail so soon, by some weeks, by which time this affair must be finally settled, one way or other. I have not wrote to my son so often as I wished, yet that is no excuse for his not writing to me, which he has done but once since he left me. I confess to you that I know not how to sit down to write to him; if I say all or the one half of what is continually on my mind it will tend to distress without relieving him. You know that I am naturally very far from being either of an insensible or callous temper and disposition, and though my misfortunes and the treatment I have met with from the most wicked and ungrateful set of men that ever were permitted to exist have in part rendered me such, yet it has not affected me in that way towards my family or friends. The account which Mr. Sherbrooke gives me of John Webb confirms my suspicions and justifies all that you have hinted in your letters; all I am surprized at is that his day of trial is not already arrived; perhaps it may not until the last shilling of personal estate is gone. My situation already mentioned will excuse my being more particular in this, in which I really designed to have been minute. Mr. Geyer has treated me with every degree of polite civility and real friendship; if in your way to make him any returns, or to any of his family, you will thereby not only discharge, or rather pay, part of a debt of gratitude which I shall ever owe him, but engage the esteem of a very worthy man, forced by the state of the times from a most respectable line of business and connections here, to settle his affairs in the best manner in his power in America. He knows nothing of the negotiation in which I am now engaged; on other subjects you may speak freely with him. In my present state of uncertainty I will not add further than my love to our Sister B. and family, and pray you to give the same to my son, and tell him in gentle terms the reasons of my

not writing to him. Remember me to Col. G. Wylls and to Col. Wadsworth.

I am, Dear Brother, yours affectionately,

S, DEANE.

P. S.—I have wrote repeatedly on the subject of my demand on Wharton and Trent. Pray, if possible, settle that affair on any terms; one half is better now than the whole at some distant period. Doctor Bancroft has wrote to them and to his brother on the subject. You can direct a letter to Mr. Daniel Bancroft, to care of Mr. John Ross, Philadelphia, and wish you and he would contrive if possible to settle it. I have an interest of near two thousand pounds sterling in that bond and mortgage; if you can recover any thing, after supplying my son's immediate wants remit me the remainder, and in future direct your letters to care of Sir Robert Harries & Co., bankers, London.

To Mr. Barnabas Deane.

Thomas Mss.

JOHN WEBB to SAMUEL B. WEBB.

Wethersfield, May 7th, 1786.

* * * IMAGINE, my good brother, my surprize on my return from Middletown to find that Thomas Seymour of Hartford had attached Silas Deane's house for James McEvers for one thousand pounds. I went to Barny [Deane] who seemed very much surprized, and asked him whether we had not better put on an attachment; he said it was a very hard matter for him to give advice, tho' appeared very friendly. I went to John Trumbull and immediately employed him as our attorney. I was with him all day on Friday and Saturday; he seems to think it best for me to lay an attachment over the one lain on by Seymour. I have acted to the best of my judgment, and have got Trumbull to give me an attachment this afternoon,

and shall levy it on all the property of S. Deane I can find, for he owes Brown & Platt, Gassa Vanhorn, E. Miller, Phoenix, and many others. This will convince you that your presence will be necessary here. I could have wished that you had been more attentive to this matter. Indeed there never was a person so completely reached as myself at this period. I hope that my conduct will meet with your approbation. I have a vast deal to say, but dare not trust it in a letter; let me request you to come here as soon as possible. I shall go part to Salisbury to see if those farms of ours are not in the name of S. D.; if they are I shall levy on them. I also shall send to Colchester and examine there. You may see by my letter what a situation I am in, and for God's sake come as soon as business will permit. * * *

Your friend and brother,

JOHN.

Ford's Correspondence of S. B. Webb, III., 58.

ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS RESPECTING A NAVIGABLE
CANAL FROM LAKE CHAMPLAIN TO THE ST. LAW-
RENCE.

Submitted to Lord Sydney by Silas Deane.

THERE can, I think, be no doubt of the practicability of cutting a navigable canal from the water of Lake Champlain, round the Rapids into the level of the River below them. To ascertain the expence of doing this, it will be necessary to procure a survey of the ground through which the Canal is to be cut, and an estimate of the distance from the upper to the lower level of the water, and of the perpendicular height of the fall between these points. This survey and estimate might be made by any tolerable engineer in a few hours, and when made the expence of the proposed

Canal might be easily calculated with considerable certainty.

But in an undertaking of this kind, the expence must not be rigorously calculated and opposed to its pecuniary advantages, these being but a part of the benefits which it certainly will produce, for besides the great and continually increasing profit arising from the transportation of bulky and heavy goods and merchandize to and from Lake Champlain by the proposed Canal, and the great extension of British commerce necessarily resulting from it, there are important political considerations which intitle this undertaking to the immediate protection and encouragement of His Majesty's Ministers, as it will eventually enable the King's remaining American subjects to supply the British West India Islands with those productions which Great Britain and Ireland cannot well, if at all, afford ; and at the same time secure the Province of Quebeck against all danger of future invasion from the United States, should they hereafter join any power at war with this Kingdom.

The articles wanted in the West Indies are chiefly the following : Horses, Live Stock (such as Cattle, Hogs, &c.), Flour, Lumber of all Kinds, Fish and some others of less importance. Horses are raised in Canada, but not equal to the demand in the Islands, and they are a heavy slugg breed, fit only for mills, and carts (for which they answer tolerably well), but for other purposes, the Horses bred in New England and in New York are preferred. Fish may be sent from Nova Scotia and New Foundland ; and the manufacture of Flour is encouraged in Canada, which the opening of this Canal, by affording water to erect mills upon will greatly tend to do, the Islands may at all times be supplied from thence at a cheaper rate than from any other country. The Lumber wanted in the West Indies (and which is an article not to be dispensed with) is not to be found in Canada, or Nova Scotia, in any sufficient quantity, but the country

round Lake Champlain abounds with Timber of the best quality, for that purpose, and by the proposed Canal it may be procured and sent to the West Indies with the cargoes of Horses, Flour, &c.

But the supplying of the West Indies with what they want is, although the great object, not the only one. Let any one cast his eye over the map of the country situated and bordering upon Lake Champlain, Lake George, and the waters communicating with them, and he will see at once, that an immense extent of territory, now rapidly becoming populous, can never be supplied with heavy, coarse and bulky goods by any means so well as through Canada, and that there must be a certain, and for ages to come, an increasing demand for the Sugar, Rum, Salt, and other productions of the British West Indies, and for the coarse woollens, hardware, and other heavy bulky manufactures of Great Britain.

If it be asked how these goods are to be paid for, I answer that this is the business of individuals, and that when Government has removed obstacles which cramp or impede commerce, everything is done which true policy dictates ; and there can be no danger but those concerned in trade will do their part and take care of themselves.

But it has been proved that this country, when the proposed communication is opened, will have ample resources to pay for the articles wanted from the West Indies, by its lumber and other produce, and for European remittances it will have everything the Northern States have or ever had, Fish and Oil excepted.

It has immense forests of Pine of the largest size and of the best quality in the world for masts, which may be met with on the banks of these waters and floated into the St. Lawrence, and then shipped for Great Britain. The richest and best iron mines in America, or perhaps in the world, are found on the banks of Lake Champlain ; and from the low price of

coal and the facilities of water carriage, iron may be manufactured and sent to market to great advantage. Potash, Flax Seed, Wheat, and other articles may be had in that country, and in great quantities as the population increases. Every commercial acquisition or advantage must ultimately prove a political one to this country, if not grossly perverted and misapplied. But besides the commercial advantages resulting from this plan, there is one of great political importance to the future peace and security of the British settlements in Canada, by forming this Canal of such a depth as to float vessels of ten or twelve feet water, from the St. Lawrence into the Lake, and by limiting the commerce on the Lake, except in small or open boats, to British bottoms, the Lake will at all times be under the command of Great Britain, and in case of a war with the American States all danger of an invasion of Canada will be removed. Moreover, by this intercourse, in which the advantages will be mutual, the Northern parts of New England and of New York, with Vermont, will become averse to a rupture with Great Britain, and it will scarcely be possible for the other States to force them to join in offensive measures, since if ever they should become so infatuated as to fly directly in the face of their own interests, all sources of foreign supplies, except at an intolerable expense, would be instantly cut off, their trade ruined, and their country exposed in every part to be invaded and harassed from Canada, on which, by their having no force on the Lake, it would not be in their power to retaliate.

The above are the outlines of a plan which may be executed at an expence very inconsiderable when compared with the magnitude of the objects in view. I am so fully convinced of the practicability of what I propose, and of the consequences pointed out, that were I in the same situation, in point of fortune, in which the late unhappy contest found me, I would, with the assistance of my friends, undertake it on private ac-

count, but in the first part of the late war I suffered great losses by the active part which I took, and in the latter part of it, and since its conclusion, much greater by the prejudices and resentment of my countrymen for having pointed out their dangerous situation and the fatal consequences of their independency, and urging for a reconciliation with Great Britain. Although there are individuals of my acquaintance in this country able to advance a capital equal to the undertaking, yet men of that description have objects at home and cannot be easily prevailed on to embark in distant enterprises. From the best information I have been able to collect, it is my opinion that about £10,000 would be sufficient for the undertaking, and that a moderate toll on goods transported on the Canal would pay the interest and in time refund the capital.

If Lord Dorchester continues to approve of this plan, and if the ultimate expence comes any way near the sum mentioned (£10,000), it cannot, under any circumstances, be an object of any consequence with Government to advance it, by installments, as the work advances, under the inspection and control of His Lordship and of his successors in Government.

The lands purchased, the Canal and works of every kind which may be erected, might be pledged to Government as a security for the repayment of the money, at or within some given term, interest on it not to commence until three years after the work shall be completed; and in all future times ships and stores belonging to Government shall pass the Canal free of toll, as shall masts and spars for the use of His Majesty's Navy.

By this, the only expense to Government will be the interest of the Capital, for a certain term, which will be very inconsiderable when compared with the above mentioned advantages.

In writing my former observations on this subject I felt myself perfectly disinterested, and I am equally so

at present, excepting a very natural, and I hope justifiable, desire of obtaining some useful employment which might enable me to retrieve a part of my losses, and rise from my present embarrassed situation. Should this plan be approved, and should I be employed in the execution of it, I flatter myself I might render services to the public, as well as to myself; but being wholly unknown to the King's Ministers, I have perhaps little reason to expect this favour; though, having suffered on account of my former endeavours to procure a reconciliation of the American States with Great Britain, it would afford me satisfaction could I benefit myself in a way whereby I might also be useful to both countries.

S. DEANE.

London, March 26th, 1787.

Brymner's Canadian Archives, 1889.

LORD DORCHESTER TO LORD SYDNEY.

Quebec, October 24th, 1787.

MY LORD,—A proposal was made to me by Mr. Silas Deane, a few days before my departure from England, to cut a canal from Lake Champlain round the rapids of St. John, into the basin of Chambly, for the purpose of opening a navigation to that lake from the river St. Lawrence of a certain burthen.

As far as a cursory view of the country can justify an opinion, this object appears to be practicable and useful, both in a commercial and political view, provided the conditions of executing the same be not objectionable. I have therefore advised Mr. Deane to lay the particulars of his plan and proposal before your Lordship, that the same may be considered and submitted to the King's pleasure.

I am, &c.,

DORCHESTER.

Brymner's Canadian Archives, 1889.

TO LORD SHEFFIELD.

London, June 30th, 1788.

MY LORD,—My distressed state, both of body and mind, have prevented my writing and acknowledging the receipt of yours of the 18th. I have every day resolved to write, but found myself too weak, and too much affected, when I took up my pen to proceed. I have wished and hoped from day to day to find myself more at ease in my mind, and for some relaxation of my disorders; for I wished to state my case simply, but somewhat at large, to your lordship, but I am still incapable of doing this. My fever has been almost constant and increasing, and my strength leaving me, until I am just able to walk my room. Three days since I walked as far as the Bird Cage Walk, and accidentally met with Mr. Irwin, who relieved my then extreme want; for the rest Mr. Wilkinson has chiefly assisted me. As to pecuniary matters, my friend Bancroft is in distress, and involv'd in vexatious lawsuits with men who depend principally on this circumstance for success against him. He has, besides this, a family to support; yet such is his friendship, that he has repeatedly assisted me with a part of what he had. This, my lord, is a brief state of my situation as to money matters. I get but little rest at night; for my coughing is almost incessant, and my night sweats, which but lately affected me, are profuse, so that I have scarcely a thread of my linen dry in the morning. My appetite is gone; I have not ate anything solid for more than ten days. Fruit, a poached egg, or an egg beat up in milk, warm from the cow, with sugar, nutmeg, and some spirit in it, have been my sole nourishment; nor has my stomach at all times been able to bear even these; and I have frequently cold and aguish turns of shivering. Excuse me, my lord, for being thus particular. I wish, and it is what I owe to truth and to your lordship, to lay my case simply, and without exaggeration or coloring, before you, that you

may judge if I am obstinate in declining, I may say in refusing, to go on shipboard under these circumstances, and with a mind distracted with reflections on the past, the present, and the probable future. In a word, my lord, I may be carried on board, where want of fruit, of milk, of vegetables—in a word, of proper attendance, and of everything proper for a sick person—with heat and calms on the passage, and violent equinoctial gales on the coast, which are almost certain at this season. These, which I do not color too highly, must cut short my voyage and prevent my ever landing in America, although the ship may go safe, and to persons in health it may be supportable. But my physician is in favor of the voyage. My lord, when a physician has a patient whose disorder baffles him, he recommends to him a short voyage to sea or the watering places, or, in short, anywhere, to get him out of the way and off his hands. I have been to sea enough to know what it is in general, and how it affects me, even when in full health, and with a mind at ease. I rely more, my lord, on my friend Bancroft's opinion than on that of almost any physician, tho' it is now many years since he practised. He knows my habits and temper from long intimacy. He has, in his own mind, given up all thoughts of my embarking in my present state, and until I can recover some degree of strength proportionate to the voyage. Mr. Irwin does not think himself authorized to assist me out of your lordship's bounty in any way but in procuring a passage for me to America, of which I have said enough. My wish is to remove to some healthy spot in this country for a few weeks, and until I can in some degree become a little stronger, and more capable of undergoing the fatigue of a voyage; and in the meantime I may hear from my brother, to whom I wrote sometime since. But if there is no alternative left me but to embark in my present situation, or to suffer the last extremities here, my case is, indeed, a hard one. I have said enough, perhaps too much, but on this subject I ought

on every account to speak my mind freely. I have done so, and hope that your lordship will not take it amiss when you reflect on my present distresses, both of body and mind. Those of the former bear hard on me, very hard indeed, and those of the latter are such as I cannot describe; they push me at times to the verge of absolute distraction. I cannot add more than my most respectful compliments to Lady Sheffield, and to assure your lordship,

I am &c.,

S. DEANE.

Right Hon. Lord Sheffield.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

EDWARD BANCROFT TO HON. JOHN T. TOWNSHEND.

London, July 10th, 1788.

SIR,—According to my promise, I have procured the original drafts of Mr. Deane's observations respecting a canal from Lake Champlain, &c., and have caused transcripts of them to be made, after some abridgement of which I found them susceptible, and which I ventured to make to save your time, as well as my Lord Sydney's, which I know the importance of. The observations thus abridged and transcribed I have now the honor of inclosing to you.*

Should the plan of making a *navigable* canal from Lake Champlain appear to deserve the attention of the Government, I should suppose the first step to be taken would be to order a survey to be made of the distance and perpendicular fall from its two extremities in order to ascertain the *expence* and the *practicability* of the undertaking, if, indeed, there be any doubt of this last point.

It was Mr. Deane's intention to have gone himself to Lake Champlain this summer, if his observations had in any degree been honored with Lord Sydney's approbation; but I am afraid his health will not allow

* Printed in this volume under date of Oct. 25, 1785, and March 26, 1787.

him to do it with any prospect of advantage this season. He is going a little way out of town, but if you should at any time have any commands for him I will take care that they shall be duly forwarded. I have the honor to be, with great respect, Sir,

Your Most Humble & Most Obedient Servant,

EDWD. BANCROFT.

Charlotte Street
(Rathbone Place).

Brynmner's Canadian Archives, 1889.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JOHN JAY.

Paris, August 3d, 1788.

* * * ABOUT three weeks ago a person called on me and informed me that Silas Deane had taken him in for a sum of 120 guineas; and that being unable to obtain any other satisfaction, he had laid hands on his account-book and letter-book, and had brought them off to Paris to offer them first to the United States, if they would repay him his money, and, if not, that he should return to London and offer them to the British Minister. I desired him to leave them with me four-and-twenty hours, that I might judge whether they were worth our notice. He did so; they were two volumes. One contained all his accounts with the United States, from his first coming to Europe to January 10th, 1781. Presuming that the Treasury Board was in possession of this account till his arrival in Philadelphia, August, 1778, and that he had never given in the subsequent part, I had that subsequent part copied from the book and now enclose it, as it may on some occasion or other, perhaps, be useful in the Treasury office. The other volume contained all his correspondences from March 29th, to August 23d, 1777. I had a list of the letters taken, by their dates and addresses, which will enable you to form a general idea of the collection. On the perusal of many of them, I thought it desirable that they should not come to the

hands of the British Minister, and, from an expression dropped by the possessor of them, I believe he would have fallen 50 or 60 guineas. I did not think them important enough, however, to justify my purchasing them without authority, though with authority I should have done it. Indeed, I would have given that sum to cut out a single sentence which contained evidence of a fact not proper to be committed to the hands of enemies. I told him I would state his proposition to you and await orders. I gave him back the books, and he returned to London without making any promise that he would await the event of the orders you might think proper to give. * * *

I have the honor of being, &c.,

TH. JEFFERSON.

[ENCLOSURE.]

EXTRACT FROM SILAS DEANE'S ACCOUNT-BOOK.

Account against Congress.

	Amount brought up	186,518	2 10
	Sundries (advances made to several officers)	20,000	
1779.	To my expenses in Philadelphia, from August, 1778. to Nov., 1779, for myself, servant, and three horses, being 15 months, which I paid, part in hard money, part in paper, which (computed at 90 livres per week, though less than what it cost me) I am content with, 15 months is 65 weeks, at 90	5,850	
1780. Nov.	To expenses of journey to Virginia, in continental currency		
	dollars	2,658½	
	To do., paid board and lodging at Williamsburg, in Virginia	18,193½	
	Do., paid in two journeys to Petersburg and Richmond	1,256½	
	Do., paid at York, and paid for sundries whilst waiting for a passage	4,845½	
		<hr/>	
		26,954	

	Thirty for one, the medium rate of exchange at the time, is 898 $\frac{1}{2}$ dollars, or in livres	4,492	10
June.	To paid for rum, sugar, tea, &c., &c., for passage.....	625	
	Passage for self, secretary, and servant....	1,500	
	The <i>maître d'hôtel</i> and servant on board the Roderique.....	120	10
July.	Expenses at Rochefort.....	296	19
	Do. at Rochelle.....	96	15
	Hire of the voiture to Nantes	96	
August.	On the road to Nantes, for horses, &c.	214	11
	Expenses at Nantes	353	4
	Posts to Paris, and expenses on the road..	415	
	Hire of the carriage from Nantes to Paris..	120	
	To cash advanced Captain Hy. Johnson, April, 1778, as per his receipt, dated Dec. 12, 1778	204	4
July.	To my time, from June 4th, 1778, to July, 1780, being two years and one month for myself, secretary, and servant, the use of my horses, carriage, &c., in America, during which time I attended solely on Congress, and in returning to settle their accounts, for which an allowance of 10,000 livres per annum will not be unreasonable	20,863	6 4
	To my time, for self, secretary, and expenses in settling the accounts of Congress, six months, which, considering it was not my duty to settle them, except my own private one, and that a large balance was my due, and the expense and loss of time which I have incurred cannot be estimated at a lower allowance than.....	13,000	0 0
	To cash paid W. T. Franklin towards family expenses, by an order on M. Grand, which is charged in my account with Congress by M. Grand, September 26th, 1777.....	4,000	0 0
	To one year's wages of La Farque, from July, 1777, to July, 1778, after which I consider his wages in the general estimate for time, &c.....	1,440	0 0
	To wrong charge of April 9th, 1777, being the disbursements on sloop Dolphin, at Havre, by M. Eyries, who transacted the		

business, and at that time, to cover his having concurred in the equipping of armed vessels for Congress, drew under the signature of Harcourt.....	9,706	16	5
To wrong charge, included in the general of 30th March, 1778; viz., moneys paid Mr. Williams, for which said Williams has accounted, being the bills drawn by said Williams on public account, accepted by me, as were most of his bills..	2,973	0	0
To wrong charge in Solier's account, to amount of.....	48,252	0	0
N. B.—The whole received by Silas Deane of Solier on his private account and use was 10,784 livres. The rest was received on account of Robert Morris, Esq., and is by Plearne, Penet & Co., charged to said Morris in his private account with them, as may be seen by their account transmitted to said Morris.			
To cash charged by M. Grand, delivered to order of Franklin and Deane, paid La Farque December 21st, 1777 (being for expenses at Passy).....	2,400	0	0
To sundry bills paid by Dr. Franklin after my leaving France.			
To cash paid Bousie's bill for wine January and April, 1778, as per receipt, September 18th, 1780.....	294	0	0
1781. January. To paid bill for painting coach wheels, November, 1777.....	16	0	0
	Livres, 323,847 18 7		
Deduct wrong charges in sundry entries entered before in page 50.....	9,706	6	5
	2,973	0	0
	4,825	2	4
	60,932 0 5		
	Livres, 262,915 18 2		

Diplomatic Correspondence of the U. S., 1783-1789, III., 428, 432.

TO BARNABAS DEANE.

London, August 10th, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Yours of the 27th, April last did not come to my hands until within a few days since. Not having seen or heard from Mr. Barlow, I cannot account for its length of passage any more than for your not having received any letters from me, as you inform me, for twelve months before ; during which time I wrote repeatedly, though not any for the last eight months, from this date back, owing to the distressed situation in which I have been both in mind and body. I have been confined for the greater part of the time, ever since December last, to my chamber, by a complication of disorders, occasioned in part, and greatly increased, by the distressed state of my circumstances, which have at times drove me to a state of almost absolute distraction. The assistance of Doctor Bancroft, and of two or three other friends, have kept me from perishing, as great part of the time I have scarcely been able to recollect one day what had passed the preceding. In this state advantage was taken, and I was plundered of almost the whole of my cloaths, and many papers of importance. I will not distress you by relating particulars of what I have suffered. I am at present much recovered in my state of health from what I was six months since, and should hope to be soon able to undertake something for my future support, without burthening my friends, were it not for the distress in which I am involved, and from which I know not how to extricate myself ; for with my illness, all prospect of business here disappeared, nor do I expect its return. The misfortunes of our brother Simeon Deane have, as to pecuniary matters, fell almost solely on me ; for nearly the whole of the goods which he took up in France have been paid for out of my money, detained by the creditors in France, by which alone my loss is little

less than two thousand pounds sterling. I have received no letter from him for more than four years since, and you give a just but melancholy reason for it. I had other debts due in France, particularly from Chaumont, which are now bad beyond recovery ; but I cannot bear to go farther in the retrospect, but will try to look forward, for I find by the avowed political death of Congress, and that in a state of absolute and total insolvency, all prospect of recovering anything from that quarter is forever closed. The failure of John Webb is no way surprising to me, though I did not expect it would be so total as you say it is, and yet reason could point out little short of it, from his conduct during the war, when he collected in Continental paper all the debts due to either of us which ever would be paid in any thing, and then threw it away in idle speculation and extravagance of living, without paying any of the debts due from either of us. But I am still running into the past and what is irrevocably fled, whilst the present and future call for my whole attention. The account you give me of my son distresses me extremely, and should he be mad enough to think of coming over here, I see nothing to prevent his absolutely perishing for want ; as I am myself supported by the kindness, or I may say charity, of friends, which I have no right to expect a continuance of to myself, much less that it will be extended to him ; besides this, I must, if my friends will so far assist me, leave London in a few weeks from this, and remove far into the country to pass the winter as cheap as I can, for I have given over all thoughts of leaving this country this season. It is, indeed, next to impossible for me to do it on account of my health, were there no other objection in the way ; but the want of means is alone an insuperable bar. My friends urge, indeed, my going to America ; and if my health would permit, I would attempt it, but not to go to New England in the present state of my affairs there, but to Canada, where I have some prospect of engaging in business to advan-

tage, would my health admit of it. I was introduced to Lord Dorchester before he went out, and put into his hands a plan which I had drawn up for a particular branch of business, which he approved of, as far as he could judge of it at the time. I have lately, about three weeks since, received two letters from his Lordship, approving of it in as strong terms as I could expect, and promising me his patronage and every assistance in his line in the execution of it, and informing me that he had wrote to Lord Sydney, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on the subject, and I have received a line from Lord Sydney that he would be glad to confer with me on the subject ; but hitherto I have been unable to wait on his Lordship, to whom I sent the reason of my not waiting on him, and promising to do so as soon as my health would permit. This is, on the whole, the most promising object before me ; but alas, without the enjoyment of health or the means for even a present subsistence on which I can depend, what can I do ? The season is now so far advanced that I cannot think of attempting to go for America before spring ; my health in the meantime must be my first object. My friend Doctor Bancroft is far from being in affluent, or even in easy, circumstances, and my other friends, as I have observed, must soon grow tired of assisting me if there is no prospect of my being able to do something for myself. In this situation what can I do with my son, should he be mad enough to come here ? But I have said enough of the past and present, and wish to look for and to find some ray of substantial hope for the future. If you can assist me, with though but a small remittance, or send me your assurance that you will be my security for it, suppose fifty pounds only, I may be able to get through the winter, and enter on my proposed voyage to Canada early in the spring ; and if I have any tolerable success, be able to repay you, and to re-establish myself in some degree of ease and independence for the remainder of my chequered life. If I could do

this in New England I would prefer it, but I fear that I cannot.

I have already wrote a long letter, and I will add on this subject only that you direct your letters as formerly, and they will come to hand. I entreat that you will not delay writing to me as to the affair of Williams. I will send you a proper power as soon as I am able to get one drawn and properly executed, for it is necessary that one of the witnesses to it should be present in America, to attest that he saw me execute it, unless I go to the enormous expense of notaries public, &c., &c. I can but think that in equity the present power which you have is sufficient, but that shall not prevent my endeavoring to send you one more ample. I once more entreat you would assist me if possible, and enable me to get free from my present embarrassments. Remember me to Col. G. Wylls, and most affectionately to our sister and Capt. Buck. I will, if I have time before the ship sails, write to my son, who, hard as the thought is, must, if he will not apply to business, take the consequence on himself; and I again say that he has nothing to expect from me or from my friends here, and that he must rely on himself for his support until my circumstances are different from what they are at present. Doctor Bancroft and myself had deeds and mortgages, from Wharton and Trent of Philadelphia, of land to a considerable amount. He writes over to have them foreclosed and the land sold. If I remember right, you have some of those papers; pray, co-operate as far as in your power in that matter, for the least avails from them will now be of consequence to me. The sum due on them is considerable. I have been until lately in hopes of something from Congress; at present I have none. But I will not add to this long and rambling letter. Hoping soon to hear from you, I am, my Dear Brother,

Most affectionately Yours,

B. Deane, Esq.

S. DEANE.

Thomas Mss.

TO BARNABAS DEANE.

London, Nov. 10th, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Your kind letter of the 28th, Sept. ult., I received yesterday, and the perusal affected me more than I am able to express. I have wrote but seldom, not more than three letters during the last twelve months. For something more than that period I have been in a bad state of health, and my distress of mind was such, for some time, that I did not venture to attempt to give you any description of it, as it would only serve to distress you, without affording me the least relief. Mr. Bishop lodged for some time in the same house with me, and then went to the Continent, and I gave him letters to my former connections in France, simply of introduction, on the strength of which he took up money—no considerable sum indeed—and drew on me. I refused his bills. I should indeed have done it had I been in better circumstances than I was, after what I had been informed of his conduct and conversation. On his return to London I was confined to my chamber; he called, and I refused seeing of him, on which he wrote me a long letter, expressing his gratitude for my past favors, and lamenting that he must have been most grossly misrepresented to me, or I could not have shut my doors to him, and wished to know what he had been charged with, &c.; and that the purport of his intended visit was to have returned me thanks from his father for my civilities to him, &c. To this I replied that I laid nothing to his charge; that reports had been by no means in his favor, on many accounts; that he must be conscious how far his conduct had authorized them; but that the state of my health was such that it was not a time for a personal interview on that or any other subject, and prayed him when he wrote to his father to give him my compliments, &c. Had I then known that he intended

to return to America, I should, at all events, have seen him, and have improved the opportunity of writing by him ; but from that day to the receipt of yours, I knew not where he was gone to. As to my circumstances, he knew little or nothing of them, but by conjecture, nor had I then been informed of many things respecting his conduct which have since come to my knowledge from those who were more intimately acquainted with him, or rather, perhaps, those with whom he acted less on the reserve. But enough on this subject. A gentleman informs you that I subsisted by the charity of Americans in London ; who this must be I cannot conjecture. He must have been grossly misinformed. Our countrymen who visit or reside in London are not in circumstances to perform acts of charity in the pecuniary line, whatever their disposition may be, and that may be best in the world, for what I know to the contrary, having never made trial of it. I have, indeed, met with generous, and I may say charitable, assistance, but it has been from those who were totally strangers to America and Americans ; and but for my illness of health, and the long continuance of it, I can but think I should not at this time have been still in want of it. In November last I was seized with a violent cold, which at first only confined me within doors ; it afterwards increased, and fell into my limbs, which became in some degree palsiaically affected with it, so far, indeed, that I was scarcely able in the least degree to help myself, and this continued on me through the winter and part of the spring. It then abated, and I have since been recovering my health as rapidly as I could expect, and far beyond the expectations of my kind and good physician Doctor Jeffries, and my constant and unfailing friend Doctor Bancroft, to whom I am more indebted than I can easily express ; and I am now able to walk for two or three miles at one stage, without resting me, or other pain than some remains of my complaint in my knees and ankles ; and hope

that in the course of the coming winter, by a prudent attention, to be perfectly restored, as my appetite is better than what it has been for some years past. This is the state of my health at present, and my favorable prospects respecting it. You will easily think that my finances—low and deranged before, or in other words, nothing—have not mended with my health, and that I have, and still do depend on the assistance of friends for my support during my illness. I was plundered of all my most valuable cloaths, and of other articles of value, peculiarly so to me, for my above friends could not be constantly with me, and I had bad attendants; so that when I had so far recovered as to be able to look a little into my affairs, I found myself almost literally destitute of every necessary, and what was of almost equal consequence, greater, indeed, on the whole, my trunk of papers had been opened, and some of the most important to me taken away; and though I have evidence satisfactory to myself which way they went, I have no hopes of recovering them. This is a sketch of the past, of which I almost wish I could annihilate the power of recollection; but if past errors and misfortunes were to make us wise in future, I ought not to wish for it, as I ought from thence to be one of the wisest of men for the rest of my life. Previous to my illness I had formed a plan for going into business on an extensive scale in this country, and had made some arrangements for that purpose. My illness, and the long continuance of it, has clouded my prospects in that way. I was introduced to Lord Dorchester just before he embarked for his government of Canada, and gave him a plan for the improvement and extension of the commerce of that country, by opening a navigable communication between the waters of the Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence. During my illness I have received two letters from his Lordship, in which he expresses his fullest approbation of what I communicated to him, and promises me his patronage in the execution of it, if I

will undertake it, and has wrote to the Minister in its favor. To this object my whole attention is turned at present ; but as the wise man of old justly said, *The destruction of the poor* (and of all their projects) *is their poverty*. But to turn your attention, as well as mine, from the dark and gloomy past to a brighter prospect of the future, I will, as briefly as a letter will permit, give you a sketch, or the outlines of what I am now aiming at, and, I think, with some good grounds for hope of succeeding in. I intend to pass the winter in London, and to obtain the approbation of my scheme by the Minister ; and as I shall not ask for money from him to execute it, I have no doubt of success in my application. A line from him to Lord Dorchester in my favor will answer my purpose, for on the strength of this I can interest those in it who will be both willing and able to furnish the necessary funds, leaving the active part with me. I propose to embark, as early as the season will allow of it, for Canada, to arrange and prepare what is necessary for the immediate execution of my plan. You, who are never accustomed to tread but on sure and known ground, may perhaps view this as a chimerical project at best. But you will reflect that, if it should prove such in the end, I shall be in no worse a situation than at present, and at last I shall be so far on my way towards you at Hartford ; that at least it relieves my mind by a prospect of success in a great and important undertaking, by which I may provide for myself and mine without burthening our friends, which is infinitely the heaviest of all my misfortunes. The account you give of my son most sensibly affects me, though I cannot accuse myself of having neglected anything in my power to render him useful to himself and friends. I never flattered him with the hopes of making his way in the world but by his own prudence and industry ; and as to his education, I afforded him the best in my power to give ; and if he will not attend to business he must suffer what his negligence may bring on him, and

to this purpose I shall write to him. He is unhappily but too much, as I fear, affected with that turn of mind which has proved so fatal to his brethern of the Webb family. Nothing has happened to John Webb but what you and every one acquainted with him must have foreseen during the war and the run of Continental money; he collected in with one hand all that was collectable of his and of my debts, and threw it away extravagantly with the other; and the consequences of all such conduct are certain and evident. I presume that our unfortunate brother Simeon Deane has left very little or nothing. He never recovered the loss he suffered at Portsmouth, even in his mind. The defeat of prospects in business was his, but the pecuniary loss fell almost wholly on me, to the amount of little short of two thousand pounds sterling, as nothing was ever recovered of the insurance, and he made me no remittances. I wish to know if he left anything. I believe that I am almost his only creditor. He was sensible, humane, and generous; let him rest in peace. Pray let me know the result of Mr. Buck's inquiries into the state of his affairs. As to my debt against Benton, &c., and of the cattle, &c., it is impossible for me to recollect anything at this distance of time that would be to the purpose. You ask what has been done with my debt against Congress. Literally nothing; my accompts have been for several years before them, after having been examined, and but little objection made to any part of them by Mr. Barclay, their counsel and agent. If Congress consisted of or contained any number of such gentlemen as Col. Wadsworth, and had the means for payment in their power, I might still expect something that would render me easy in my circumstances. Until you mentioned his being a member, I did not know that Congress was any longer in existence, as nothing is said of them here more than if no such body had ever been heard of. My compliments to Col. Wadsworth, and pray him to examine the files and records of Congress, and he will find my accompts, as trans-

mitted by Mr. Barclay and by myself, unless they have been wilfully destroyed, which I cannot suppose ; and as Mr. Barclay is now in America, he can give much information on the subject. I am glad to hear that the important manufactures of wool and iron are entered on with spirit in Connecticut ; as I shall ever wish well to my country, I hope they will answer well. It is almost the only line in which I could be of any service if I were to return, as I have paid particular attention to those branches, especially that of iron in all parts of it, and am more and better informed in what respects every part of it than in any other. One of my best friends in this country, and one of the worthiest men living, may be said to have more practical, as well as theoretical, knowledge in that business than any other person in Europe, or perhaps in the world, with a good education in the sciences ; he very early devoted himself to that business. Early in the late war he went into France, and was employed by the French Government in erecting of foundries and furnaces. There I first had the happiness of his acquaintance, which soon ripened into a real friendship, of which he has, on his part, given me the most convincing proofs. The French Minister gave him a good three thousand pounds sterling per annum, with perquisites of equal value. He then made the tour of Germany and of Italy, and examined all the iron works of consequence in that extent, and took samples of their ores and plans of their works, and he is now on his way through Sweden and Russia, on the same business, which will compleat his knowledge of all the iron works of any consequence in Europe, those in Spain excepted. His brother, with whom he is concerned, is esteemed the most skilful, as well as one of the richest, iron masters, as they call themselves, in this kingdom. I am on terms of strict friendship with both of them, nor can I receive or give you a greater proof of it than that I am now living almost entirely on their bounty, afforded me, unsolicited on my part. They heard of my dis-

tress, and to minds like theirs it was sufficient. They visited and relieved me. Can I say or write too much of such men? Could I think or speak less gratefully or respectfully of them, I must despise and condemn myself. You will conclude that my health is tolerable, from the length of my letter, for which I will make no apology, nor add, but to intreat of you to write immediately on the receipt of this, directed as before. My most affectionate remembrance to our sister and Capt. Buck, and compliments to Col. Wylls and others of my friends who remember me. I am, my dear Brother,

Yours,
S. DEANE.

Nov. 12th.—You will receive, inclosed with this, a letter to Col. Wadsworth, and one to my son; you will read, and then seal and deliver them. The papers will give you the general state of public affairs on this side the water, and I am at present as little disposed to write on, as you are to listen to, politics; but an event is at the door, if not actually taken place, which will in all probability produce very serious consequences to this nation. The King has been for some time extremely ill, and his disease has at length produced a fixed delirium, from which his physicians have little or no hopes of a recovery, though it does not immediately threaten his life. Parliament, in consequence of this, will meet in a few days to settle a regency. The Prince of Wales will be sole regent, and as his friends and favorites are in direct opposition to those now in power, a material change will, in all probability, take place. Mr. Fox, the great favorite of the Prince, and determined enemy of the present administration, is now on the Continent, as far as Switzerland or Italy, but express on express have been sent after him to hasten his return. In the meantime France, the antient rival of this kingdom, is in the utmost confusion, and on the brink of a civil

war, and in some instances actually in one. A weak but obstinate King and a profligate Court have, in a few years of peace, instead of improving the finances of the nation, brought on a public bankruptcy, and all the unhappy consequences are in a train of taking place. In the same term of peace this nation has funded all its outstanding debts, as they are called, and made provision for an annual diminution of the principal, with the most punctual payment of the interest, and this without new burthens of taxes to any amount on the subjects, or the discouragement of its trade and manufactures, which are at this time in a more rapid progress of advance than in any former period. One favorable circumstance is, that neither of them will be in a situation, however strongly they may be inclined, to take advantage of the misfortunes of the other. France will find full employment at home, and a regency is not calculated for foreign enterprises, so that the Northern Powers and Austria and Turkey, where the flames of war are become general, must fight it out, or accommodate in the best manner they can, without the mediation or aid of the two great and ancient arbiters of Europe, Great Britain and France. I am not certain when I shall be able to send this, and may add, before it goes, if anything new and interesting occurs. The meeting of Parliament will bring many of my acquaintance with others to town, and I shall improve the opportunity, as far as the state of things will admit of it, to ripen and to bring my scheme, as far as possible, to a certain and consistent plan for execution, as soon as the next season will permit me to enter on it. The confusion into which the King's illness has thrown the Ministers, renders it an unfavorable time to do any business with them, who are wholly intent on measures for preserving the public tranquillity, and for securing their places and emoluments; and it would be to little purpose even to obtain their approbation at this crisis, as a change of measures almost ever follows

a change of Ministers ; but I am no way apprehensive that any Ministers will disapprove of my plan, though they may not approve of and adopt it so fully as I could wish, or as they would have done, had the first application been made to them. I have been told, and from tolerable good authority, that Lord Dorchester, when he accepted of his Government, stipulated for a certain term ; if so, it will be a favorable circumstance. As to the present Ministers, not one of them so much as knows me by sight, or I them ; so that I cannot easily be a greater stranger to their successors. But whatever may happen in this way, I am at present resolved, if possible, to go out in the spring, and to examine in person what can be done.

Mr. Barnabas Deane.

Thomas Mss.

PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.

New York, October 1, 1788.—On the report of a committee consisting of Mr. Carrington, Mr. Williamson, and Mr. Clarke, to whom was referred a report of the Board of Treasury, on the accounts of Mr. Caron de Beaumarchais,

Resolved, That the settlement of the accompts of Mr. Caron de Beaumarchais, said to have been made by Mr. Silas Deane, at Paris, in the month of April, 1781, cannot be deemed binding on the United States, the said Mr. Deane not being vested with any authority to make such settlement.*

Journals of Congress.

FROM WINTHROP SALTONSTALL.

New London, Nov. 19th, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your favour of 10th, August I this moment received, via Providence. Your long silence since March, 1787, has given me much uneasiness,

* See Diplomatic Correspondence of U. S., 1783-89, I. 469-89.

which your aforesaid favour has in some measure mitigated, and suggested a reason therefor. Capt. Winthrop tarried a few howers only in London.

In doubt of the certificate from the town reaching you, I transmitted by the Betsey, Capt. Mesnard, via New York, in September last, a certificate of the kind you had, with other documents, which no doubt have reached Mr. Paice long since.

I am exceedingly glad at the suggestion of your intention to revisit America ; no one will be hapier in embracing you in this part of the world than I shall. When at New London I shall be happy in receiving you into my family, and though not with that elegance you have been used to, you can no where receive a more sincere and hearty welcome. The organization by our new Constitution, which will operate the ensuing spring, is a circumstance that looks favourable, and must be a considerable inducement to forward your intentions, and no doubt will be a national existence that will be disposed to do justice to those who (as you) have advanced their property for the benefit of the American cause.

I have been exceedingly alarmed at a late hint of your scanty situation. You will excuse my taking the liberty, in consequence thereof, in my last to Mr. Paice, of 8th, October passed, to request him to furnish you a small sum for your present necessities, if he shall be able, from anticipation on the Killingly rents.

I condole with you in the loss of your brother Simeon ; he deceased in Virginia, in June last, of which you have no doubt been informed by your brother Barnabas Deane, &c., long ere this. Capt. Buck has been to Virginia on the occasion.

Our family and friends are in health, and, as when I last wrote you, your son Jesse is with your Barnabas Deane, and is confirmed in health.

We have finally ended the family dispute with the Winthrops. Annexed is an abstract of the decree. We are not interested in the lead mine tract, as you'll

observe by the abstract. You'll note that brother Rosewell Saltonstall and John S. Miller were not in the prosecution ; of course, not partakers in the seventh.

We have a tradition in the family that our ancestor was concerned in the Holy Wars. They began in William 2d's reign, Anno 1087, and again prosecuted in Richard 1st's reign, which, ended 1198, [are] the intermediate periods, and perhaps since, in consequence of his achievements, its probable the Killingly Manor was given to him. Those acquainted with heraldy may, by the family arms (which were probably grafted into the family as part of the honor due to him at the same time), ascertain the time and motive for the latter, &c., for a small matter. At the Tower of London may be seen, amongst other documents there lodged, surveys of the Mannors. Directions for the latter you will find more fully pointed at in Guthrie's Geographical Grammar, in a note on *Tower*, under the head of Cities, Towns, &c., in describing England. Should your health, &c., render it convenient, you'll particularly oblige me in making the scrutiny into this article, and if anything is to be found respecting the Mannor of Killingly, near Pontifract, let me be informed of every minutia. This examination, if admissable, may afford some entertainment to a person of your ingenuity, as well as advantage to a friend.

I am informed from Rosewell Saltonstall's administrator the lease of the Killingly estate is near expireing, and that the rent may be considerably inhanced. If you can inform me any thing on this head, without giveing offence your side the water, you'll oblige me.

Sister Mary and my family are rejoiced to hear from you, and wish to be tenderly remembered.

I am your affectionate Brother and oblig'd hble Servt.,

WINTHROP SALTONSTALL.

To Silas Deane, Esq.,
Care of Doctor Bancroft, London.

[Enclosure.]

Superior Court, New London County, March Term, 1788. Saltonstall &c., vs. Winthrops, &c. Resolved and decreed that the Cetitionees, on or before the 1st Nov., 1788, convey by proper deed or deeds of release to the petitioners, one seventh of Fort Hill Farm, in Groton; also the same proportion in the following tracts of land, viz.: Alewife Brook Farm and Stream, over and above the 250 acres already conveyed; Cedar Swamp in Saybrook; Mill Pond Farm, in New London; part of Twenty Pole, at Mistick; all the lands belonging to the estate of John Winthrop, Esq., deceased, lying in Plainfield, Canterbury, Woodstock, and Voluntown; common right in New London; Durfey's Farm, at Rope Ferry; Massapiague Farm; estate at Billerica, Staten Island; Boston Common; stream for a mill at Weathersfield; Quarry Hill, at Roquetanick; lands in Providence, on penalty of £1,000, together with £350 rents, £28. 5. 10 cost, £23. 6. 2 for residuum sold Murdock.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

JOHN JAY TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Office for Foreign Affairs, Nov. 25th, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—My last to you was dated the 23d, September last. It mentioned my having received your letters of 4th, 23d, and 30th, May. I have since been favored with four others, viz., 29th, July, and 3d, 10th, and 11th, August, with the papers mentioned to be enclosed. They have not been laid before Congress, although I transmitted them to the President for that purpose, for a sufficient number of members to form a house have not since convened. The members present have, nevertheless, read them. The occurrences they mention are interesting, and your attention in transmitting them gives pleasure. The

circumstance of Mr. Deane's letter-book and account-book being offered to you for sale, is a singular one. I wish you had purchased them. On this subject I cannot, indeed, give you any instructions or authority, but I will venture to advise you, in express terms, to make the purchase. I have no doubt that Congress will be satisfied with it. To me it appears expedient; and the same opinion prevails among the members of Congress who have read your letter. * * *

With sincere esteem and &c.,

JOHN JAY.

Diplomatic Correspondence of the U. S., 1783-89, III. 441.

TO LORD SHEFFIELD.

Chapel Street, Nov. 28th, 1788.

MY LORD,—I have not any of your favors since the 26th, of Sept. past. I hoped that the late meeting of Parliament would have brought you to town. I have recovered my health since being in my present lodgings, to as great a degree as I could expect for the time, and beyond the expectations of my friends. I have not seen any of the Ministers; the present crisis renders it extremely difficult to know how to proceed. A general change of Ministers is confidently talked of on the appointment of the regency, which now appears inevitable, and that it must take place immediately on the reassembling of the Parliament.

In this situation I have thought it most prudent not to urge my proposals, but to wait for an event which cannot be very distant, and confident that your lordship will be in town at the time, and favor me with your advice. I have seen Col. Holland, who surveyed and drew charts of all the northern parts of America, that is, from New York northward, and particularly of Lake Champlain and of the adjacent country. He confirms me in the idea of the practicability of my

plan for an inland navigation between Canada and the Northern and Eastern of the American States.

I am still without any thing from America, of either a private or of a public nature. There has not been any arrivals from the Northern States, and, indeed, there cannot be any thing very interesting from thence until the meeting of the delegates for the new system of government, which I am a little impatient for, to see how far my predictions will be verified, or things put into a train for such an event. I have the satisfaction of learning from Col. Holland's account, that the execution of my plan will not be attended with the labor or expense which I apprehended and calculated for.

A gentleman of my acquaintance, Col. Fitch of Connecticut, who distinguished himself in the war of 1755, on the frontiers of the then British Colonies and in Canada, and became intimately acquainted with Lord Dorchester, but during the late contest was unpopular, from suspicions of his being in the British interest, lately made a proposal to his lordship for taking up a large tract of land on the frontiers, between the New England and the Canadian settlements, but within the British jurisdiction, somewhere between Lake Champlain, the river St. Lawrence, and the river Sorrel, and to bring settlers with him from New England. Lord Dorchester approved of his plan, and wrote to the Ministers on the subject. The answer of the Minister is : *That Government have resolved to hold that tract of country unsettled, as a barrier between Canada and New England.* Have these great men forgot that Arnold passed an unsettled country, or barrier, if they please, of ten times this extent, and with tenfold the natural obstructions, and at the head of a few hundred of his countrymen, half naked and starved, appeared before the capital of that country? And can they expect that this small tract of unsettled land will serve as a barrier to the British possessions in Canada? And to render this resolution still more

ridiculously absurd, Lord Dorchester had the power of granting lands to individuals who apply, by virtue of which he made a grant to his old friend, Col. Fitch, of four thousand acres of land, to lay it where he chose, in the unsettled parts, and Col. Fitch immediately laid it on the lands before petitioned for, and others will do the same. In a word, from a variety of causes, not in the power of politicians to resist, all that country between New England and New York on the south, and Canada on the north, will in a few years become settled, and even prosperous; and as I have shewn in the paper which your lordship has read and approved of, and as the situation of the country renders self-evident, those settlers never can find a market for the sales of their produce, or for purchasing what they want, but through this channel which I propose to open and to keep the key of. I have been credibly informed that the land carriage of goods round those rapids already amounts to two thousand pounds per ann.; if it amount to one half, it is more than sufficient to pay the interest of the capital requisite to carry my plan into execution. But whatever the amount of the carriage may be at this time, the goods and produce which must find a passage this way are now, and for a long period to come must be, rapidly increasing, especially when by water carriage transportation will be rendered easy and safe. The timber, now an obstacle to the settler, as he must cut it down and burn it before he can cultivate his grounds, will by this become an object of real value, and the same of many other articles. Your lordship must excuse my prolixity. I am on a subject which has for some time since engrossed my attention, and I do not perhaps reflect (being mounted on my hobby horse) how far I may try the patience of those to whom I write, and as it serves to expel those disagreeable reflections which by no means conduce to the recovery of my health, I am but too ready to indulge myself by giving full scope to the play of my prospects and

hopes, however imaginary. I hope soon to wait on your lordship in town, as I presume that you will be here on the meeting of Parliament. My most respectful compliments to Lady Sheffield, and am, with great sincerity,

Your Lordship's much obliged and very Humble Servt.,

S. DEANE.

After writing the foregoing, I was told in Downing Street that you would be in town in the course of this week. I therefore leave it at your house, and request that your lordship will give me the first leisure hour after your arrival, as I am very anxious to come to some fixed resolution, and to have your advice, by which I may regulate my process therein.

Sunday morning.

Right Honble. Lord Sheffield.

Mss. N. Y. Hist. Society.

TO BARNABAS DEANE.

London, Feb. 1st, 1789.

DEAR BROTHER,—My last went by the December packet, and enclosed a letter for Col. Wadsworth and one for my son. I wrote so largely in that on my situation and my prospects, that I have little to add on that, as no material change has taken place. My health, thank God, continues to mend, though by slow degrees; but the winter is set in with uncommon severity, and it is well, at such a season, if I can keep the ground which I have gained, and not to go back is almost as encouraging, under such disadvantages, as to advance slowly in a more favorable part of the year. All public business is suspended on account of the King's illness, except such as cannot be dispensed with. The two Houses of Parliament, if they may be

called such without a King at their head, are assembled, and it appears that the recovery of his majesty is now despaired of, and a regent must be appointed, and consequently all is, and for some time past has been, intrigue and cabal. The Ministers who are no favorites of the Prince, labor to limit his authority so far as to prevent him from turning them out of their places; whilst the opposition, with Mr. Fox at their head, are for giving him the full powers, and all but the title of royalty. A more important question has scarcely ever been agitated in any nation, and never by men of superior ability on both sides. It is easy for you to suppose that it engrosses universal attention; every member of both Houses able to come or to be brought to town, is present, and the House of Commons has frequently sat from four in the afternoon to six and seven the next morning. As the supplies for the coming year must be voted in the course of ten days or a fortnight at farthest, a decision must be come to within that time. If the Prince of Wales is appointed sole regent, and invested with all the essential powers of royalty, the present ministers must retire, and Mr. Fox and his party will take their places. This will probably be the case, for it cannot be supposed that the Prince will continue men in power who have uniformly labored to restrain and control him. The debates on this subject are, perhaps, superior to any that have ever taken place in the British Senate, and you will undoubtedly have the heads and a summary of their arguments in papers and pamphlets or magazines from hence. You will easily conclude that this is no time to attempt to do business with men in power, or even with those grasping after it. The utmost I wish for or can expect, is to obtain an approbation of Lord Dorchester's opinion of the usefulness and practicability of my proposed plan of operations in Canada, and general instructions to him to patronize and encourage the execution of it. But I cannot solicit this at present, for as it but too frequently happens, and, indeed,

is almost generally the case, a new ministry disapprove of, or at best look but with indifference on, what has been patronized by their predecessors in office. This renders my situation extremely delicate in this respect. A few days must decide the important question between the contending parties, and until that is resolved I must remain silent to both. It is probable that before I send off this, decisive measures for the future government of the nation will be taken. But although I know of no opportunity for sending a letter, yet I write, that I may have one in readiness, and shall add to it as occurrences of any importance to myself take place.

It is now the 24th, of Dec., and although I do not despair of being able to emerge from the difficulties under which I now labor, yet my prospect for the winter is but a cold one at best. But it affords me no small degree of satisfaction to reflect that you will be both warm and happy. How can you be otherwise, with a young wife, in a new house, and with plenty of the one thing needful to support and to sweeten life? If I am not misinformed, accept my most sincere and fraternal congratulations on the change of your situation, and give the same on my behalf to my new and hitherto unknown sister.

February 1st.—The political state of this country continues the same as when I wrote the above. Mr. Pitt and his colleagues have, contrary to expectation, kept off the coming to any decisive resolutions on the state of the nation. Peace, and the state of the treasury, have enabled him to do this, and the immense emoluments enjoyed by him and his friends naturally lead him to procrastinate to the last, and the business is, of itself, extremely delicate. The dethroning of a King is generally an act of violence, in which forms and precedents are not attended to, but the present is widely different. It is to declare the King incapable of governing for the present, and allowing that it is

possible, and even probable, that he may hereafter be in a state to resume the reins of government. The appointment of a regent who must, in effect, be his guardian and conservator during this interval of time, and to give him powers adequate to so high and important a trust, and at the same time so far to limit that power that he shall be obliged to resign it on the recovery of his father's health, is extremely difficult in itself, and rendered still more so by the contest between the opposite parties, the present Ministers, and those who are to succeed them under the Prince Regent. On the whole, it now appears impossible to put off the settlement of the government of the nation for many days longer, and it is agreed on by all, that it must be done in the course of the next week or ten days; but as the packet must sail before that time, I will not add to this; save that I flatter myself that I am in a certain way of regaining my health. The frost has been extremely severe, more so than has been known since the hard winter of 1740. The navigation on the Thames has been wholly interrupted, and the river has been passed over on the ice, far below London Bridge. Booths have been erected, and pigs, &c., roasted on ice, for the entertainment of the nobility, &c. But the weather is now moderating, and gives me hope that with the returning spring I may regain my health, and be able to attempt something on the plan which I have long since had in view. I shall write again in a few days, whatever may happen. In the meantime I am most affectionately, dear Brother,

Yours,

S. DEANE.

Remember me to inquiring friends, to my son, if still with you. I do not write to him, having been so particular in my last, and I am extremely dissatisfied with his conduct. He has not wrote me since he left London, a neglect absolutely inexcusable, and I wish

you to put him in mind how unbecoming, to say no worse of it, such conduct is in him.

B. Deane, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO EDWARD BANCROFT.

Paris, March 2d, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—I have just received a letter of Jan. 31st, from Admiral Paul Jones, at Petersburg, in which, charging me with the execution of some commissions, and these requiring money, he tells me you will answer my drafts to the amount of four or five thousand livres on his account. Be so good as to inform me whether you will pay such drafts.

A Monsieur Foullay, who has been connected with Deane, lately offered me for sale two volumes of Deane's letter books and account books that he had taken instead of money which Deane owed him. I have purchased them on public account. He tells me Deane has still six or eight volumes more, and being to return soon to London, he will try to get them also, in order to make us pay high for them. You are sensible of the impropriety of letting such books get into hands which might make an unfriendly use of them. You are sensible of the immorality of an Minister's selling his secrets for money, and, consequently, that there can be no immorality in tempting him with money to part with them, so that they may be restored to that government to whom they properly belong. Your former acquaintance with Deane may, perhaps, put it in your power to render our country the service of recovering those books. It would not do to propose it to him as for Congress. What other way would best bring it about you know best. I suppose his distresses and his crapulous habits will not render him difficult on this head. On the supposition that there are six or eight volumes, I think you might

venture as far as fifty guineas, and proportionably for fewer. I will answer your draft to this amount and purpose, or you may retain it out of any moneys you may propose to pay me for Admiral Jones. There is no time to lose in this negotiation, as, should Foullay arrive there before it is closed, he will spoil the bargain. If you should be able to recover these books, I would ask the favor of you to send them to me by the diligence, that I may carry them back with me to America. I make no apology for giving you this trouble. It is for our common country and common interest.

I am, with sincere and great esteem and attachment, Dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

TH. JEFFERSON.

Doctor Bancroft, London.

Writings of Thomas Jefferson, 1853, II. 578.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JOHN JAY.

Paris, March 12th, 1789.

* * * ON the receipt of your letter advising me to purchase the two volumes of Deane's letters and accounts, I wrote to the person who had them, and, after some offers and refusals, he let me have them for 25 louis, instead of 120 louis, asked at first. He told me that Deane had still six or eight volumes more, and that when he should return to London he would try to get them, in order to make himself whole for the money he had lent Deane. As I knew he would endeavor to make us pay dear for them, and it appeared to be your opinion, and that of the members you had consulted, that it was an object worthy attention, I wrote immediately to a friend in London to endeavor to purchase them from Deane himself, whose distresses and crapulous habits will probably render him more easy to deal with. I authorized him to go as far as fifty guineas. I have as yet no answer from him. * * *

Diplomatic Correspondence, U. S., 1783-1789, IV. 67.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JOHN JAY.

Paris, March 15th, 1789.

SIR,—Since closing my letters which accompany this I have received an answer from London on the subject of the other volumes of Deane's letters and accounts suggested to be still in his possession. This information renders it certain that none such are in his possession, and probable that no others exist but the two which I have purchased. I am in hopes, therefore, we may conclude that the recovery of these two volumes finishes that business. * * *

Diplomatic Correspondence, U. S., 1783-1789, IV. 77.

TO BARNABAS DEANE.

London, April 7th, 1789.

DEAR BROTHER,—My last went by the packet, and I presume came safe to hand. Nothing has since occurred to alter the resolution which I had then taken, of going out to Canada as soon as in my power. I have now a prospect of effecting it, and if I succeed you will hear from me there in my next. But I have met with so many disappointments that I can hardly dare to rely with confidence on any thing not absolutely in my power. Mr. Geyer of Boston generously directed Capt. Davis to give me a passage on his account, but before I saw him he had engaged as many passengers as he could accommodate. I should otherwise have improved this kind offer of my friend, to whom I am much obliged for many instances of the most friendly attention to me; and indeed I have never met with any one of a more liberal and generous disposition; and if it ever chance to be in your power to serve him you will improve it on my account, as it may never be in mine to make him any return other than the most ardent wishes of a grateful mind for his wel-

fare. I have now passed a severe winter, the severest which has been known in this climate for almost half a century past, and have gained considerably in my health, which of course gives me encouragement. I am now endeavoring to obtain a passage to Quebec. If I succeed you will next hear from me in that corner of the globe. I have not as yet made any use of the credit which you gave me in yours for fifty pounds, but I shall be obliged to do it before I leave London, and I shall give you advice of it in time. Mr. Phenix of New York has lately revived an old demand on me, which has lain dormant since the year 1773 or 1774, and I am apprehensive that he may give me trouble. When in America last I saw Mr. Phenix, and was on the most friendly terms with him. He never mentioned any thing on the subject, nor did I know at the time that he held a note of mine in his hands uncanceled; otherways I could have paid him at the time, as other people paid their debts. I think that, as you are on friendly terms with him, you may serve me by representing to him the inability, as well as cruelty, of pursuing a demand on me in my circumstances. He may thereby do me an irretrievable injury without the least benefit to himself. John Webb has done as most others of his temper and conduct do; he has done the greatest injustice to those who have placed the greatest confidence in him. But I will not attempt to write on what I can not reflect with any degree of patience. In my former letters I was particular on the state of public affairs here, as my private prospects in some degree were, or might be, affected by them. They still are far from being in that settled state which every one any way interested must wish for. The King's disorder has so far abated that all his physicians and attendants, one or two excepted, are dismissed, and he is to resume the exercise of regal authority, so far at least as to give the royal assent to the bills which the two Houses have passed. As the royal assent to the money and mutiny bills cannot be longer delayed with-

out danger of throwing every thing into confusion, it is suspected by many that the pretended recovery is merely fictitious, to serve the present purpose; for there is no alternative but this left—either the King must be declared able to transact this business, or the Prince of Wales must be appointed Regent and do it in his place. But the Ministers are sensible that they are on such unfavorable terms with the Prince that they could not hold their places under his regency, and that, if the business which now urges can be got over, they may go on another year without any material difficulty, whatever the state of the King may be. This is generally suspected, notwithstanding the solemn parade preparing for thanksgiving and public rejoicings. Time, the great revealer of secrets, will soon discover and explain this. If I can get a passage for Quebec I hope to sail early in the next month, of which I shall write to you. At any rate, I must, if possible, get away for some port in the north of America—Boston or Quebec—in the course of a month from this; and as I shall write farther before I sail, I will not add farther to this than my compliments to all friends who make enquiry after me. I am, my Dear Brother,

Most affectionately yours,

S. DEANE.

Mr. Barnabas Deane.

Thomas Mss.

TO EVAN NEPEAN.

London, May 20th, 1789.

SIR,—I take the liberty of sending you herewith some observations and remarks which I made at different times, as will appear from the perusal of them. A long confinement by illness has prevented my attempting to carry any part of my plan into execution, and though at this time I have recovered a good state of health, still I cannot enter on it with

propriety without knowing in some degree the opinion of his Majesty's Ministers on the subject, especially as Lord Dorchester informs me that he has wrote his opinion of it to Lord Sydney, and has recommended it to his patronage. I am sensible of the importance of public business which must at this time engage his lordship's attention, but the advancing season, with other circumstances, render it necessary for me to obtain, if possible, some decision. Lord Dorchester is of opinion that what I propose is both practicable and useful. If Lord Sydney shall agree with him, I wish to enter on the business without further delay. A ship will sail from London early in June, for Quebec, and as I propose to take a passage in her, you will oblige me by giving the enclosed a perusal and to forward the proposed undertaking if it meets with your approbation. I have the honor to be with much respect, Sir,

Your most obed't and very hum. Serv't,
S. DEANE.

Grosvenor Place,
Chapel Street, No. 7.

P. S.—When you have perused the enclosed * I wish to wait on you on the subject, and as early as may be convenient.

[Enclosure.]

OBSERVATIONS AS TO COST, &C., OF THE CANAL FROM
LAKE CHAMPLAIN TO THE ST. LAWRENCE.

SUPPOSING the distance to be eight miles to be cut to carry a Canal round the rapids at St. John's, so as to have a navigation from the St. Lawrence into the

* There were four enclosures, viz. : Observations printed in this volume under date of October 25, 1785, and March 26, 1787. Notes on these observations, and observations as to cost, etc., printed herewith.

Lake Champlain, for boats and for vessels drawing six or seven feet of water, the Canal for this purpose must be twenty feet wide and eight feet deep. This is a large allowance or calculation ; one-half will answer for large boats, but when the work is in hand, an addition of width and depth to what is absolutely necessary at the time will cost little to what it will at some future period, when it may be wanted, and when a stop must be put to business to effect it ; and Lake Champlain being navigable in every part of it for large vessels, renders it the more prudent to make the canal in proportion. Let it be supposed, in the first place, in order to form a calculation, that the ground to be cut through is of a sand, loam, or gravel, removeable by the spade and pickaxe, one mile in length, twenty feet in breadth, and eight feet deep, will be equal to 844,800 cubic feet of earth. Suppose a labourer to dig and remove six feet deep and eight feet square in one day, or 288 feet of cubic earth, then 2,933 days of labour will dig one mile in length, twenty feet wide, and eight feet deep ; but allow 2,950 days—2,950 days, diet included, at 2s. 6d. per diem is £368 15s.; but allow for banking, &c., £131 5s. in addition, and it will be £500 per mile, and eight miles £4,000 ; interest at 5 per cent. £200 per annum, and add for annual repairs of bank and lock £50 per annum, the annual expenses will be £250. It is estimated that at this time there are at least 2,000 cart or waggon load of goods transported round those falls or rapids annually. This cannot be done at less than 8s. per load, allowing nothing for the starting of hoops, leakage of casks, breaking of bales, &c., incident to a land carriage, and not to one by water, deduct £250 from £800, the amount of the land carriage, there will remain £550 for the transportation on the Canal. At present a vessel below the rapids must be unloaded, and then waits for carts and waggons to be reloaded with them, a considerable expence, especially if put into store, and other ways they must be exposed to the rain and snow, to which they must

be, at any rate, in the waggons and carts. But the boat passing on the Canal into the Lake may go along side of the ship below, and taking the goods on board, there will be but one moving of them by hand, instead of five or six in the other case, and the above damages will be avoided. A boat or vessel constructed for the purpose, and navigated by four or five men and a boy, will transport as great a quantity of goods as fifty or sixty waggons or carts, with this material difference—that such a vessel is not obliged to unload on entering the Lake, but may proceed with her cargo to those ports or creeks to the Lake nearest to where the goods are wanted for consumption; and may take a freight back of corn, flax seed, or such articles of produce as the inhabitants have to dispose of, and by passing down the waters of the Canal may deliver the same for any foreign market.

To show how great a profit this is capable of, will select one article which cannot be dispensed with in any country, and for which no substitute can be found—that of salt. The track of country lying between Lake Champlain and Connecticut River is already in a great part settled, and the inhabitants and cultivation are rapidly advancing, and it is the same with the country between the south waters of the Lake and Albany; no part of that extensive territory can find so convenient a market as on Lake Champlain. There are five or six rapids or cataracts on Connecticut River, between the above mentioned inhabitants and Hartford, to which it is barely navigable for sea vessels, as they are called, and in addition to this, the river in all this distance is absolutely unnavigable for more than one-half the year by ice and freshets. The River Hudson is navigable to Albany and no farther; above that, like the Connecticut River, it has rapids at every small distance. From this situation of the country it is evident that a safe navigation opened on Lake Champlain will command the trade of this extensive country, and the proprietor or proprietors of this proposed

canal will hold the key to the whole of it, for all heavy and bulky goods, as well as for the article of salt, to which I will now turn my calculation.

The common price of salt in Vermont is, and has been, two dollars, or nine shillings sterling, per bushel, and the people to this time have had no market for their wheat or flax seed or other produce, except for their cattle, horses and sheep, which may, though at an enormous expense, be drove to the southward. Salt, either from Europe or the West Indies, may be delivered at the foot of the above canal at 1s. to 1s. 3d. per bushel, and give a good profit, but allow 18d. in calculation. The vessel above described may there receive and carry to market, and suppose her to take but one thousand bushels, which will be but a moderate cargo, and allow her forty days to go up the lake with it, to unload, and to return, the account of her voyage, making large allowance for each particular, may be thus estimated: One thousand bushels of salt, at 1s. 6d., £75; 40 days' wages and victualling, £30; wear and tear, as it is called, of the vessel, £15; and allow for contingent expenses £10—total, £130, or 2s. 7d. per bushel, delivered at any port or creek of the lake; and if sold at 5s., little more than one-half the present price, the amount will be £250, a profit of £120 on a voyage of forty days. This is allowing the vessel to return empty, but the vessel which carries one thousand bushels of salt will bring back a thousand bushels of wheat or flax seed, or a quantity of other articles in proportion, such as salted provisions, pot and pearl ashes, &c.; so that at all times as good a freight may be expected back, or home, as out; and salt, now selling at 9s. sterling per bushel, must command an immediate sale at 5s.

Suppose, for instance, in the way of barter, which must be almost the sole, as it is in this case the most profitable, way of dealing, that two bushels of wheat, or three of flax seed, be given for one of salt, the profit will be more than double the above calculation, which

is every way within bounds. The country above described is exceedingly good for wheat and flax, but not for Indian corn and other produce to the southward. At this time there is no market for their wheat and flax seed but their home consumption, but could they be disposed of at a certain market at the above rates, the cultivation of them would increase beyond what can be easily calculated for; and both these articles must come to the hands of the proprietor or proprietors of this canal at one-half, or about one-half, the current price of them in New York or Philadelphia, which towns have formerly almost exclusively supplied Ireland with flax seed, and the West Indies and part of Europe with flour. It is unquestionably the interest of Great Britain to have her islands supplied with flour and lumber, and Ireland with flax seed and timber of all sorts from Canada in preference to any other country. Canada was settled by the French within a few years as early as New England was by the English. The French government gave no encouragement to anything but to hunting. Furs and peltry were their sole object. The Province had not a single ship belonging to it in any commerce whatever during the whole period of its belonging to France, a few fishing vessels for the river and the banks, mostly employed for fish for their home consumption, excepted. This Province exhibits in its history a striking proof of the necessary connection between agriculture and commerce, and of the aid they mutually afford each other. The Canadians being deprived of commerce, their agriculture remained in so wretched a state that the French troops in the country, and even the inhabitants in and near Quebec, received their flour from France; and with as great advantages for a trade with the West Indies as any part of America, they appear only to have heard, or read, of such a country; for they received the sugars and other productions of these islands from France; and so extremely ignorant were the inhabitants of the nature of the soil they lived on

that they did not suppose it capable of producing wheat, other than a miserable crop of summer growth, as it is called. But within ten years after its being under the British government this Province, besides its internal consumption, raised wheat for exportation to the amount of more than three hundred thousand bushels in one year. This digression to mention a fact well known to those who have attended to the history of that province is made to show what improvements have taken place in the agriculture and commerce of that country, and thence in some degree to justify the assertion that it is capable of still greater, and that the present period, when Great Britain is totally separated from her antient colonies on that Continent, is the most favourable for making them, and I trust it has been demonstrated that this may be done without any expence to Government.

It may not be improper to add that the winter in all the northern parts of America is a dead season of the year in almost every particular, and the farmer is employed in taking care of the cattle and in consuming the produce of the summer, or in the carrying of it to market in the best manner in his power; but the variableness of the weather on the sea coast, rain and thaws following close on snow and frost, renders his transportation extremely precarious. But it is different in the parts here mentioned, which, being far inland, the weather is steady and uniform, and frost and snow prevail almost without exception from December to March, which is a circumstance of vast importance to inland carriage. Two horses will draw as much in a sleigh, on snow or ice, as six in a waggon or cart, on the best road in summer. It is indeed not easy to find any situation in any country (there is none in the British Dominions) of which advantages of equal magnitude and extent, to the public as well as to individuals, may be acquired with so small a capital and risque as in the above. Let us suppose that instead of going round the Falls into the River St. Lawrence by the

River Sorel (which is a bad navigation), that the canal be carried directly from the lake into the river, at the foot of the rapids by Montreal. To this point in the River St. Lawrence a frigate of thirty guns can go, consequently there must at all times be water sufficient for the largest merchant ships loaded. Allow the distance to be twice what has been calculated for above, or sixteen miles (this is more than the real distance) in a straight line, the fall of the water, or difference between the level of Lake Champlain and that of the river, will be the same; the expence of the lock will of course be the same. But, by all accounts, the digging will be much easier than in the former, the land being a sand and loam thro' the whole distance. But the advantage must exceed the expence to a vast amount beyond what at first can easily be calculated. In the first place, the difficult and winding navigation of the Sorel River will be avoided. In the second place, the wheat produced above Montreal, or in Upper Canada, through the whole extent of it, may be brought to the mills by water at the same expence as it is now brought to be shipped in grain, and the same of other articles; and, what is of some consequence, the mills without any land carriage may supply the town of Montreal and its vicinity with flour for home consumption. Equal advantages will arise from other articles, without losing any of those before mentioned on the Lake Champlain.

Allowing the distance to be sixteen miles, and the expence of cutting the canal to be double, the expence will then amount to twice the sum of the above calculation as to the digging and the banking, but the lock will be the same. But to take it at an even sum, suppose the cutting the canal and making the lock to amount to £2,000; the interest, at 5 per cent., to amount to £400; and the repairs, as before, at £50; and there will still remain a balance of £250 per annum in favour of the canal when compared with the expence of carting, without taking into consideration

the above mentioned important advantages of its being cut directly to the river, as here proposed.

SILAS DEANE.

London, 1788.

Brynmor's Canadian Archives, 1889.

TO EVAN NAPEAN.

London, May 28th, 1789.

SIR,—I called yesterday at your office, expecting to see you, or to receive a line in answer to the note which I had sent you. After sending in my name and waiting for some time, was told that my letter required no answer, and that you could not see me, which, from the manner the message was delivered in, could not be construed other ways than *that you would not*. Had I been soliciting a favor to which I had no pretensions, or in pursuit of some place which had no foundation but in my opinion of it, I ought to submit in silence; but the reverse of this being the fact, I cannot receive the message delivered me in this light, unless forced to it by your neglecting to notice either this or my former; and am Sir,

Your most Obedt. Humble Serv't,

S. DEANE.

Chapel St., No. 7,
Grosvenor Place.

To Evan Napean, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

TO JEREMIAH WADSWORTH.

June 25th, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—I have wrote to my brother, and requested him to show you my letter; but as you may not be in Hartford at the time of its arrival, I cannot let the earliest opportunity pass unimproved to return you my thanks for your kind remembrance of an old

friend. I should have taken a passage in Capt. Davis for Boston, but that gentleman taking his family out with him prevented me, and as he may be expected back in a few weeks, I shall wait his return. My brother must have conversed with you on the general plan which I have in contemplation and mean to pursue if local circumstances answer my expectations, and that can be known to any degree of certainty only by examining them on the spot. I have come to a resolution long since, never to interest myself in any way in the politics of any country so far as take an active part should I have ever so fair an invitation, of which, indeed, there is no probability. I am extremely solicitous to have my accmpts, which lay for so many years unnoticed by the late Congress, examined and settled. Not that I expect ever to receive the balance due to me—this I have long despaired of—but that it may be fully known and ascertained, for the satisfaction of the public at large and of my friends and family in particular, if I have justly merited the treatment I have met with, or any part of it. I am confident that your love of justice, independent of other considerations, is too sincere and ardent to leave me under the necessity of saying more on this subject. I most ardently wish you success in the department into which you have now entered, equal to your utmost wishes, and I can pray for nothing more honorable to you, or more beneficial to them.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Col. J. Wadsworth.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

London, June 25th, 1789.

SIR,—Although no man can more sincerely rejoice on your once receiving the highest honors in the power

of my country to confer, I still should not have thought myself justified in requesting the least degree of your attention to me, or to any concern of mine were not the public justice—and, I may add, the honor of my country—in some degree interested. It is now more than ten years since I have solicited and urged for an examination of my conduct and a settlement of my accompts whilst in the service of Congress. I have long since despaired of obtaining either. But a new system of government being formed, and you by the unanimous voice of my countrymen chosen to preside, my hopes are revived, and it gives me some degree of confidence that I shall no longer solicit in vain. No length of time can of itself cancel an obligation, much less efface from a feeling mind those sensations which must ever rise in it under certain circumstances. Though reduced to the extremes of poverty and to an infirm and precarious state of health by what I have suffered, I shall regard the past as of little consideration if I can now obtain what I have so long since requested. I will not trespass farther on your time. Col. Wadsworth is in possession of the state of my case, past and present, and to him take the liberty to refer you; and am, with the most sincere respect, Sir,

Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

His Excellency George Washington.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

TO JOHN JAY.

London, June 25th, 1789.

SIR,—On the receipt of your letter, which you may perhaps recollect your writing me from Paris, I had no expectation of a renewal of our correspondence, or any hopes of success if attempted by me. Mr. Sayre told that you enquired after me and expressed a wish for my return. This leads me to hope that the surmises and

suggestions propagated against me, having never been in the most remote degree substantiated, may be dissipated, and that any error in judgment, which is the utmost anyone can charge me with, is fully expiated by what I have suffered. I flatter myself from my recollection of your former way of thinking, when I enjoyed some share of your good opinion and confidence, that this must be the case with you, and on this ground I now address you on a subject of the most interesting nature to myself and family, as well as in some degree to the public. It is now more than ten years since insinuations were thrown out that I was a defaulter in my pecuniary transactions whilst in the service of my country. And you must recollect that from that time I omitted nothing in my power to bring those insinuations to a direct and specific charge, that I might meet it, and that the public might, from a fair and impartial examination, have the means of coming at the truth. I have been unsuccessful, and for a long time since have despaired of ever being otherways until the present attempts to form a new and efficient, and I hope permanent, system of government have revived my hopes, so far, at least, as to expect that this subject may be taken up, examined, and decided on; and I now once more most earnestly solicit your influence to have this done. Distressed as I am, and have long since been, in my circumstances, I form no expectations of a pecuniary nature from the enquiry. I wish to have the balance, which has been so long due to me, settled and acknowledged. This will be a satisfaction to my family, to my son in particular, and it will be hard to be refused the opportunity of doing this when I have nothing else left in my power to give them. I have wrote a long letter to my brother, which will be communicated to Col. Wadsworth, to whom I shall write by the present opportunity, and take the liberty of referring you to them if disposed to lend your interest to bring this question to a conclusion; and will

trespass no further on your time but to assure you that I am, with much respect,

Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Hon. John Jay.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

TO WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON.

London, June 29th, 1789.

SIR,—I was flattered some months since that I should have had the pleasure of seeing you in London before this, and of giving you personally the history of my past and of my present situation, hoping that I should be able thereby to convince you of the extreme injustice which I have suffered, and to interest you, from your well known principles of justice and humanity, in my favor. In this I am disappointed by your being called on to act a more important part in the great council of the United States. Though disappointed in those expectations, I am led to form much greater on this event, and such as are not confined to the personal interest of so unimportant an individual as myself, but extending to my country at large.

In my letter to Col. Wadsworth and to my brother, which will accompany this, I have stated my situation and the grounds for what I now solicit so fully that I will not trouble you with a repetition of any part in this, having requested of them to make you acquainted with the substance of my letters on this subject.

It is now almost ten years since I have solicited for an impartial inquiry into my conduct whilst in the service of my country, and for a settlement of my accompts, that justice might be done to my fortune as well as to my character. Unfortunately, I have hitherto been unsuccessful. You can sufficiently imagine, without my attempting to describe, what I

must have suffered on every account during so long a period of anxiety and distress. I hope that it is now drawing to a close. I have at no time solicited for favor or indulgence from the late Congress, but for justice, and it is all I ask at present. If I have in any instance betrayed or been unfaithful in the trust reposed in me by my country, let it be made to appear. Justice to the public calls for it, as well as justice to an individual. And I once more present my case before the tribunal of my country for a fair and full examination. I have been so long habituated to poverty that I can bear it, however reluctantly; but injustice to my character is unsupportable.

I will trespass no further on your time, but refer you to my friends above named, and am, with the most perfect respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

S. DEANE.

Hon. William S. Johnson.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

RECORD OF THE INTERMENT OF SILAS DEANE.

Sept. 26th, 1789.

SILAS DEANE, ESQR. He was Deputy of the State of Connecticut to the first and second General American Congress; a Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America to the Court of France in 1777 and 1778, and died in the Downs on his passage from London to America.*

Register of Burials for the Parish of Deal.

* The Register Book is preserved in Upper Deal, in charge of the rector, the Rev. T. L. Griffith, from whom a certified copy of the entry was obtained. The particular church or burial ground is not indicated on the records, but there seems no doubt but that the interment took place in St. George's burial ground. A careful search failed to find any gravestone to mark the spot.

JOHN WEBB TO SAMUEL B. WEBB.

Wethersfield, Dec. 6th, 1789.

* * * THE scene with S[ilas] D[eane] is closed, and for the want of attention to our matters with him our attachments are lost. I have been with Mr. John Trumbull, our counsel, who advises us to bring a petition to the House of Assembly, praying that the lands absolutely received for my, or our father's, debts may be given to us, and says he has not a doubt but the petition will be granted. We must have you here, as Trumbull and Edwards will want to see us previous to presenting the petition. To give you any idea of our situation without our worthy brother will be needless, as you can judge. * * * On your way here you had better call on Mr. Edwards, who is our friend, and has many friends in the House of Assembly.

Your affectionate brother,

JOHN.

Ford's Correspondence of S. B. Webb, III. 145.

NOTICES OF THE DEATH OF SILAS DEANE.

DIED in the Downs, Sept. 23d, on board the Boston packet, in his 53d year, after four hours' illness, Silas Deane, Esq., a native of Groton, in the State of Connecticut.

He was a member of the first and second Congress, where he was distinguished by his literary merits, mercantile knowledge, policy, and great zeal for liberty (the characteristicks of the first planters of New England and their descendants); and consequently, in 1776, was appointed ambassador by Congress to the Court of France. Soon after his arrival at Paris, he

proved his ability by convincing the Court of France that their interest would be promoted by giving support to the American revolt.

While Mr. Deane was in France, he wrote to several members of Congress salutary and *Solomonic* advice not to push their resistance into independence on the mother country, part of which letters were intercepted and printed.

However, to help forward the claims of the American colonies, Mr. Deane purchased sundry articles in France, and sent them to Congress on credit, to the value of nearly half a million of livres, depending on the faith and promises of Congress for a just and equitable payment, as appears by his letter to the people of America (see vol. xlix, p. 74). [Address of Silas Deane, Dec. 5, 1778.] Congress, having received the goods sent by Mr. Deane, recalled him from his embassy, and refused all kind of payment, because Mr. Deane was not clear of a suspicion of being not friendly to the independence of America. This political manœuvre and congressional mode of discharging fair and honest debts by suspicions and accusations compelled Mr. Deane to leave France on a sudden, and finally to take refuge in England, where he received a generous and a friendly support, while his eminent services and just demands on Congress were disregarded by his fellow patriots in America.

Thus lived and died his Excellency Silas Deane, whose name is rendered immortal in the calendar of policy by having ruined himself and family, and deranged France and America with the charming words, *Liberty, Constitution, and Rights*.

The epicedium of Mr. Deane may be this: He was second to very few politicians in knowledge, plans, designs, and execution; deficient only in placing confidence in his compatriots, and doing them service before he had got his compensation, of which no well-bred politician was before him ever guilty.

The Gentleman's Magazine, 1789. p. 866.

London, Oct. 13th, 1789.

THE situation of Silas Deane at Brussels, during the latter end of the American war, was little better than starving; for he durst not go to France, America, nor England, and he declared that Congress were in his debt sixteen thousand pounds. His situation in England has been since worse than in Brussels, for here he literally starved, and would have died of want had not a gentleman of fashion been an eye witness that he not only wanted food, but a bed to lie upon. A collection of about seventy pounds was then made for him, and with that supply he got on ship board, with an intention to return to America as his dernier resource. On board this vessel he died.

Extract from an English paper, reprinted in the Gazette of the United States, Dec. 12, 1789.

London, Oct. 20th, 1789.

SILAS DEANE, who died a few days since, at Deal in Kent, is one of the most remarkable instances of the versatility of fortune which have occurred perhaps within the present century. Being a native and merchant of Boston, at an early period of the American war, he was selected by Congress as one of the representatives of America at the Court of France. During his residence in that kingdom he lived in great affluence, and was presented by Louis XVI. with his picture, set round with brilliants, as a mark of respect on account of his integrity and abilities. Having, however, soon after been accused of embezzling large sums of money intrusted to his care for the purchase of arms and ammunition, Mr. Deane sought an asylum in this country, where his habits of life, at first economical, and afterwards penurious in the extreme, amply refuted the malevolence of his enemies. So reduced, indeed, was this gentleman, who was supposed to have embezzled upwards of £100,000 sterling, lately been, that he experienced all the horrors

of the most abject poverty in the capital of England, and has for the last few months been almost in danger of starving.

Reprinted, from a London paper, in the American Mercury, published at Hartford, Dec. 28th, 1789.

BARNABAS DEANE TO THEODORE HOPKINS.

Hartford, Feb 25th, 1790.

SIR,—Yours of October 6th, informing me of the death of my brother Silas Deane, is before me. I feel myself under many obligations to you for your kindness and attention to my deceased brother, for which please to accept my best thanks.

I shall this day hand your brother, Mr. Charles Hopkins, the ballance of the funeral charges. The gold snuff box, in the hands of Sir Robert Herries, I would have sold, provided it would be sold for the 90 guineas valued at by the lapidary you mention, after the picture is taken out, which I would have sent here. If it will not sell for that price, please to advise me of it. The baggage I would have sent to New York to the care of Mr. James Watson.

Inclosed is a letter for Mr. Iggulden, thanking him for his attention to the deceased.

B. DEANE.

Theodore Hopkins, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

EDWARD BANCROFT TO JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.

London, May 8th, 1790.

DEAR SIR,—I am favoured with your letter requesting my opinion of the probability of the account of Mr. Silas Deane's death, as related in a pamphlet intitled "Theodosius,"* and mentioning as the motive

* Theodosius ; or, A Solemn Admonition to Protestant Dissenters.
8vo, pp. 68. London, 1790. Supposed to have been written by the Rev. Philip Withers.

of this request that you have been "informed that no person in England was better acquainted with Mr. Deane, his sentiments and affairs, than myself." This, indeed, is a fact which has been sufficiently known, and was a consequence of my having been partly educated under him; and also of a *particular* instruction given him by the Secret Committee of Congress, when he was sent to Europe by that body in 1776.

The account of Mr. Deane's death is comprehended in that part of the pamphlet which the author calls his "Narrative," the truth of which he "solemnly affirms," and stakes upon it his hope of "divine protection and support in time and eternity." The first part of this narrative chiefly relates to a letter which Mr. Deane is supposed to have written to Mr. de Sartine, then Minister of the Marine Department in France, "solemnly protesting that he would propose terms of accommodation to England if a *declaration* of immediate support were not signed by France in eight and forty hours," together with a conversation which is said to have passed between Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane respecting that letter, and a subsequent interview with Mr. de Sartine, for which the American Commissioners are supposed to have been hurried away at midnight to a villa that he is said to have had about five leagues from Paris, where "the fatal declaration" is alleged to have been "instantly signed."

The situation in which I lived, under the same roof with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane, when these transactions are supposed to have happened, and the intimate knowledge I had of every thing which passed between them and the French Ministry, entitle me to decide respecting the truth of this part of the author's narrative; and on these grounds I do not hesitate in pronouncing it to be an absurd fiction, confident as I am that Mr. Deane's official intercourse in France never was at any time or upon any occasion with Mr. de Sartine or anybody in his department; that no such letter was ever written, nor any declaration of support

ever required by any American Commissioner, and signed by any French Minister, before the treaty of amity and commerce and that of eventual alliance were actually concluded, on the 6th of February, 1778.

The other part of the author's narrative begins with these words, viz.: "The last time I saw Mr. Silas Deane was on a bed of sickness and *death*; he sent for me." And then the author proceeds to state a conversation which he says passed between himself and Mr. Deane, and in which the latter, on his *death* bed, is made to "*deny the existence of a deity*;" and being desired to "name the wretch" who had infused into his mind "such horrid blasphemies" is said to have named Dr. Priestley; and to have added, "Yes, Dr. Priestley was my instructor, my saviour, and my God."

That you, Sir, may be able to judge of the probability of this account, I need only say that Mr. Deane left London in a post-chaise on Tuesday, the 22d, of September last, with Captain Davis of the Boston packet, in which ship he was to embark for America; and from the captain's *written account of his death*, it appears that, after sleeping that night at Gravesend, Mr. Deane made a hearty breakfast there the next morning, at the house of Captain Davis's father-in-law; and afterwards went on board with the captain, when the ship immediately took her departure; that about ten o'clock the same morning, whilst Mr. Deane was walking on the quarter-deck with the captain, he suddenly complained of being unwell, and this complaint increasing very fast, he was taken down into the cabin, and there *for the first and only time* was laid on *his death bed*, or the bed on which he died; and that he there almost immediately became *speechless*, and continued so until his death, which happened about two o'clock in the afternoon of the same day. The captain mentions the several persons who were with Mr. Deane whilst on his *death bed*, who appear all to have belonged to the ship, and all of them incapable

of comprehending any of his inarticulate sounds, when he once or twice attempted to speak, whilst on his *death bed*. Mr. Deane had, indeed, formerly been attacked by a complication of disorders, but he had been gradually recovering from them for more than eighteen months before his death; and during the time when he might be said to have lain on a bed of "*sickness*," though not of "*death*," his mental faculties were so much impaired that he must have been incapable of that part of the conversation which has been ascribed to him.

There are other facts, also, which concur to make this conversation altogether incredible. I do not believe that Mr. Deane would have been more open upon religious subjects with an aged clergyman, such as Theodosius describes himself, than he was with me; and I certainly never heard him intimate, much less profess, any disbelief "of the existence of a deity." Doubts he may have had of revealed religion, but these, I am persuaded, were neither produced nor increased by any person in this country. On the contrary, I believe, and on very good grounds, that the religious sentiments which he entertained in the latter part of his life were exactly the same as those which he had avowed in France to several of his friends before he ever saw either England or yourself.

This statement of facts I think due to you, Sir, as well as to truth and the memory of Mr. Deane; and I cannot object to its being used where it can be of service to either, though I certainly am very far from wishing to attract any share of public attention to myself. I have the honour to be, with great esteem, Dear Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

EDWARD BANCROFT.

Francis-street, Bedford Square.

Rev. Joseph Priestley.

Priestley's Familiar Letters, Part V., London, 1790.

APPENDIX.

FROM JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

Lebanon, August 19th, 1774.

SIR,—I finished my packet for the Commissioners, and while seeking an opportunity to send it to Windham I received your favour of the 16th, instant, and at your request have enclosed my extracts from Gov. Winthrop's Ms. History, attested, and those of this town. You'll find what I thought would be of use to the Congress. The charter of James the 1st, is the great and civil basis of all the future patents and plantations into which the country is divided. The sense of our predecessors appears fully from many things I send. It is matter of regret that so many useful papers are lost.

I heartily wish such as remain were collected and ranged, and better care taken to preserve them and what may be in future. I wish you a pleasant journey, wisdom and direction from on high, in the important business in which you are employed. Pray my complements to all. I am, with esteem and regard, Sir, Your most Obedient, Humble Servant,

JON'TH TRUMBULL.

Silas Deane, Esquire.

P. S.—Please to preserve and return the extracts.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

FROM EBENEZER HAZARD.

New York, Feb. 25th, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you some days ago.* Don't neglect sending exact copies of the letters I then mentioned.

* Dated Feb. 18th. Printed in Collections of the Conn. Hist. Society, II. 197.

Several patriotic motions have been made since my last, and the Tories carried their point, as was expected. The Assembly determined they would not send delegates to the next Congress, and I suppose we shall have a *provincial convention* which will do it. I am told the committee appointed by the House to state the grievances of this Colony, though mostly Tories, have included almost all those complained of by the Congress, and mentioned some new ones, particularly the destruction of the Indian trade by the Quebec Duty Act. You know that trade cannot be carried on without rum. By the Quebec Duty Act no rum may be sold in the Province but what is entered and the duty paid at Quebec or ———, on Lake Champlain. The Virginians, &c., &c., cannot afford to carry their rum, &c., to these places to be entered, and consequently can have no trade. This, I am very credibly informed, is one of the grievances they have enumerated. What inconsistent creatures Tories are! I cannot tell whether the House will adopt their report, but have some expectation they will. In my last I described C[rean] B[rush]. Col. Wells (his partner) needs description. He is a short, very lusty man; wears his own hair (well dressed while here); has a good fair skin, much colour in his face, and speaks but little. Both he and C. B. live at Fort Dummer, and in their way to and from New York pass through New Haven, Weathersfield, Hartford, &c. A curious affair happened here a day or two ago. A caricatura had been made some months ago called "Hutchinson and Oliver in the Horrors." Just after our House had determined not to send delegates to the next Congress, one of the members (Judge Thomas) went down stairs to empty his vesica. When he had done the penny post delivered him a letter directed to the Speaker, and a packet for James De Lancey, Esqr., which the old judge carried up stairs and delivered. Mr. Speaker's letter, I am told, was in the words following: "Said the Roman Augur to

Julius Cæsar: Beware of the ides of March. Saith the American soothsayer to the friends of despotism: Beware of the ides of February." This covered one of the caricaturas, finely coloured. De Lancey's packet contained seventeen of them, uncoloured; one directed to each of the Tories, to whose names an epithet was annexed, such as "Pensioner Jauncey," &c. As you may not have seen the caricatura, I will describe it to you. In the upper left hand corner are the bodies of Empson and Dudley. Their heads are cut off and falling, and the blood runs from their necks. Out of the mouth of each proceeds a label, on which are inscribed: "Think of Empson's fate," "Remember the fate of Dudley." In the lower right hand corner are Hutchinson and Oliver, each having a bag of money by his side, and both in dreadful consternation, for in the middle of the print is an horrible devil coming to take them away. Such was the caricatura sent into the House. The Speaker insisted upon Judge Thomas's telling the House who gave the letter and packet to him. The old gentleman said he went down to p— (he hoped there was no harm in that; he hoped it was not a breach of privilege), and just as he had done, a little man, with a blue coat, put the letter, &c., into his hand; but he did not know who the man was, nor what were the contents of the letters. The Speaker desired him to go and p— again, and may be he might see the man a second time. This affair made a good deal of diversion. One of the members told another that people out of doors said: "The devil has got into the House." "That is no new thing," replied the other, "for to my knowledge he has not been out of it these six years."

Feb'y 28th. There is a report in town that a plan has been concerted by some negroes in Ulster County, in this Province, to cause an insurrection, and that two of them are confined. Perhaps we may hear more of this bye and bye.

This day our fine new hospital was entirely con-

sumed by fire, occasioned by the carelessness of the workmen. It is supposed they had neglected their fire, and that while they were at dinner it communicated with some shavings. £7,000 had been expended on this building.

To-morrow the report of the Committee of our Assembly is to be laid before the House. One of the Whig members told me he believed it would be accepted, and that some more grievances would be added to it by the House. If I am not called upon for this letter I will not seal it till I can tell you how this matter goes.

Rivington published in his last paper a story of a *Presbyterian* minister, not far from North Haven, who had been learning the military exercise in the *Market Place*, and "the Puritan" made good proficiency. I suppose he means our friend *Trumbull*. I wish I knew the truth of this story.

- March 1st. I received your favour of this date enclosing the letters, for which am much obliged to you. I imagine they will make some folks cut a very ridiculous figure before long. It is so late in the day that I must be brief in answering yours, or I shall not be able to get this ready for the post. Mr. Brush, I believe, will not set out before the session is ended, which, I imagine, will not be very soon. However, I shall make particular enquiry, and send you timely notice. His partner, Wells, will go in company with him, it is supposed. I am glad so few among you take Rivington's paper. He is a dirty rascal. Your people are quite right in extending their settlements westward. If the king's right to the lands of infidels and hereticks, in consequence of his being Pope of England and heir at law (in England) to the Pope of Rome, be undeniable, he is undoubtedly entitled to quit rents; but not otherwise. This is my opinion. I am told your Governor has received a threatening letter from Lord D——. If this is true, the latter is an impertinent fellow. Do you think seriously of

going westward *in propria persona*? I am glad your militia is on so respectable a footing.

With respect to my State papers, would an application to the different Continental Assemblies for assistance be improper? If you think not, I wish you would hint it to some of your leading men, and try to get them to appoint somebody to send me papers.

The political disquisitions are not to be had in this city, I believe. However, I will make more particular enquiry about it, and if it is to be had will send it.

I imagine his Majesty will alter his most *gracious* resolutions. Lord D[artmouth]h will disgrace himself. I have seen one of *Nov-Anglus's* performances, but was obliged to read it in a hurry. As you have mentioned the matter, I shall get him and read him attentively. You will probably see something soon about R[ivington]n in Holt's paper, signed *An Observer*.

I have lately got scent of a club of Tories that meets at R[ivington]'s every Wednesday and Saturday evening. They examine the newspapers, and direct him what paragraphs to reprint. The club consists chiefly of Dr. Cooper and some officers, but is not fairly formed yet. Dr. Cooper and an officer are Presidents alternately. As there was little news in the Boston papers last Saturday evening, the Doctor spent the time in blackguarding the Presbyterians. I have laid a plan for getting the name of every member, his allotment of business, what places and persons he corresponds with, what motions are made, and by whom; and, in short, every thing about them; and shall send you intelligence from time to time. Keep this to yourself. In the accounts I send you I shall distinguish these folks by the name of *The Club*.

The chief part of the report of the Committee of our Assembly has been adopted by the House, and from what they have done it is evident they will adopt the whole. They give the Parliament leave to regulate

trade, excluding every idea of external or internal taxation. This was carried 14 to 10.

Adieu.

AMERICANUS.

Endorsed by Deane Feb. 25th, 1775: Ebenezer Hazard's Letter. Recd. at New Haven.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

FROM BARNABAS DEANE.

Pomphret, Tuesday, 11 O'clock,

April 25th, 1775.

DEAR BROTHER,—We arrived here last evening, about half after 5 o'clock. The men marched very fast, and are in high spirits, and behave themselves very well in general. We had expelled one from the company for bad behavior before Capt. Chester came up, but on the man's promising good behavior, and asking pardon, we have accepted him again; he said he had rather die than return without the company. We are at a great stand what to do; we are informed that no men are wanted but such as are prepared and willing to tarry through the season, and are properly inlisted and officered. Our men are eager to advance to Boston, but will not, in general, be willing to stay any time there. Some of them it will ruin to tarry; others, perhaps, might be willing to tarry the season. I have this moment seen a letter from Col. Putnam, which is copy'd the other side;* we have not concluded as

* April 23d, 1775.

Major Brown.

SIR.—You are desired to enlist as many men as appears willing and hearty in the cause, and that can tarry; but such as are necessitated to return upon acct. of their business, let them return.

Proceed immediately as near Cambridge as you think will be convenient upon the acct. of sheltering the soldiers, and immediately send an express to me, and how many men you shall want provisions for.

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

yet what we shall do. Every thing is in confusion near Boston. You will hear from us every day. If we don't proceed, our men will be for returning immediately. Some of them are for pushing forward at all events. Tell Mr. Stillman and Mr. Fosdike that their sons are very well, and that they behave well. We have had two men taken sick with the rest, but they will keep up with the company. Jno. Woodhouse, jr., has a bad boil on his knee, but is not willing to be left behind; we have let him ride in the waggon.

There is Capt. Sage here with his troop, and Parson Boardman, who stands chaplin for us. Capt. Meigs is expected up every hour with his company.

You will hear more news than I can write. My best respects to all friends.

I am yr. affectionate brother,

B. DEANE.

Silas Deane, Esq., Wethersfield.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

TO JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

Philadelphia, June 26th, 1775.

SIR,—Yours per express, dated the 20th, we received, and are happy to find that every measure within your power for the public good has been uniformly pursued by you, and that the advice from the Congress had been rather as approving than directing your conduct. You will by this express receive a letter from the President, informing you of the appointment of General Washington and other general officers, and by unanimous order of the Congress expressing the high sense they have of your important services to the United Colonies at this critical period. In the arrangement of general officers, the character of General Putnam obtained every vote for his major generalship, a unanimity peculiar to the commander-in-

chief and himself, which we hope will give no umbrage to General Wooster or General Spencer, as their subsequent appointments are honorable. We wish the prospect of a supply of one article was more favorable, but, from the large quantities in the West Indies, hope for the best. The article of saltpetre is now under consideration, and shall be able in a few days to write at large on the subject. The account brought us by Mr. Avery of the action of the 17th, has given us the greatest possible anxiety, as it leaves us in suspense and uncertainty as to the event of so important an action, which is increased every hour by our receiving no further advices. By a letter from Albany, received yesterday, we are informed of the defection of the Caghnauwaga Indians, effected by the presents of Gov. Carleton, who is meditating hostilities. Are not some of their children with Doctor Wheelock? If so, may not some advantage be taken of this circumstance? Regulating and issuing a continental currency, and providing ways and means for its redemption, has taken up much time; but the work is in such forwardness that we hope soon to have it circulating, and that several other important regulations now under consideration will be compleated and take place. We should be very happy could we make greater dispatch, as the distance from our families and friends and from the great scene of action gives us uneasiness; and with respect to adjourning nearer, which has been repeatedly mentioned, though a majority of voices might be obtained, yet we conceived it too delicate a subject for us to urge. On many and various reasons, it is probable that the Congress, after finishing the more important business before them, will have a recess, and appointing a committee of safety or of war to sit during their adjournment, this committee will undoubtedly be directed to remove as near the scene of action as Hartford. We are greatly obliged to Col. Williams for his letter, and also to your son, but the express will not permit our return-

ing their favors at this time. We are, with the greatest esteem,*

Your honor's most Obedt. and very Hum. Servt.,

S. DEANE.

To Governor Trumbull.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society

TO JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

Wethersfield, August 20th, 1775.

SIR,—I have wrote you two letters since my return from Philadelphia, and should not trouble you again at this time were it not for my situation respecting Mr. Skeene. I have not seen him since my return, but am repeatedly informed of his receiving such treatment as is quite inconsistent with the assurances I gave him at Philadelphia, of which I would think less had I not been authorized by the Congress to make them. To a person of any sensibility nothing can be more painful than to be constantly liable to the reflections of having his faith, which he pledged, and word of honor, violated before his face. I have as contemptible an opinion of Mr. Skeene as of any man in one point of light—his political principles—but as a prisoner he is entitled to the performance of the conditions on which he was made such. I returned but this instant from the camp, and find that but last week a party beset his lodgings, insulted him and searched all his papers. &c. Your honor I trust will give some order, I hope, to the committee, respecting him. If for particular reasons you think it best to continue him where he now is, I wish to be favored with them, that I may reconcile the matter to the Congress, whose desires have been misunderstood, and so not complied with: but give me leave to hint it as my opinion that he is in the very

* Written by Deane on behalf of the Conn. delegates.

worst situation for the public. A country village is inquisitive and communicative everywhere ; he is on a large road, and one which the people passing to and from both armies use. He has, therefore, all the intelligence of every thing he can wish to know, and twice the advantage of sending it to the enemy that he would have in a town. One thought farther, he is a very communicative man, and in the secrets of administration. Were he some judicious person many important discoveries might be made ; of this I am confident from the opportunities I had with him at Philadelphia. I will trouble your honor no further on this disagreeable subject, as I am confident you will give such orders as will do me justice, as well as the public, on whose behalf and by whose express orders I gave the assurances I did.

Your sons were well on Tuesday last.

I am, &c.,

S. DEANE.

To Governor Trumbull.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

FROM JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

Lebanon, August 30th, 1775.

SIR,—I have before me yours of the 9th and 20th instant, relative to Gov. Skeene. To set that matter in its true light it is necessary to state the facts. The first authentic account received concerning him was by letter from President Hancock, dated 27th, June, 1775, wherein he writes to me, "I am likewise to inform you that this Congress have this day come to a resolution that Major Skeene, an officer lately arrived from England, and who has for some days been kept in this city by their order, and suffered to be abroad upon his parole, be sent under a proper

guard to you, to be retained at Hartford until the further order of this Congress." This letter was received the 3d, July, and laid before the General Assembly, then sitting at Hartford. Thereupon the Assembly resolved: "That on the arrival of Major Skeene the elder, who is ordered hither by the Continental Congress, the said Committee (meaning a committee before appointed to take care of and order the prisoners be, and they are hereby directed to provide him suitable lodgings and entertainment in some remote part of the town of Hartford, and at their discretion may permit Major Skeene the younger to reside with his father, Major Skeene the elder."

The 20th, July received another letter from President Hancock, dated the 6th, enclosing copy of the Minutes, as follows, viz.: "In Congress, June 27th, 1775. Upon motion, Ordered, Gov. P. Skeene be sent under guard to Hartford, in Connecticut, there to be confined on his parole, not to go out of the bounds prescribed to him by Gov. Trumbull. Ordered, that the Delegates of Pennsylvania take measures to have the above order carried into execution." "In Congress, July 5th. It appearing that Gov. Philip Skeene and Mr. Lundy have designs inimical to American liberty, therefore, on motion, it is recommended to the Delegates of the Colony of Pennsylvania to have the order of Congress of 27th, June last, respecting the sending Gov. Skeene to Hartford, in Connecticut, immediately carried into execution.—Resolved, that Mr. Lundy be sent under guard with Gov. Skeene to Hartford, there to be confined in the same manner as is ordered with respect to Gov. Skeene, until further orders from this Congress.—Resolved, that such provision be made for the support of Gov. Skeene and Mr. Lundy as Gov. Trumbull shall think proper, which the Congress will take care to pay."—At the same time received from Gen. Wooster a letter, dated July 20th, 1775, in which he says: "Pursuant to the instructions of the Continental

Congress, I have sent Gov. Skeene and Mr. Lundy under a guard to Wethersfield, where they will be directed and disposed of by your honor."—Likewise received from General Wooster his recommendation of Gov. Skeene, dated camp, near New York, July 11th, 1775, as follows: "Sir, you will receive this from Gov. Skeene, who is at present to reside at Weathersfield or Middletown, within such limits as you shall grant him. At Philadelphia I understood he had eight miles round the city allowed him; perhaps your honor will think proper to give him the liberty of Hartford, Wethersfield, and Middletown. I have long been acquainted with him, and have ever esteemed him a man of strict honor, and whose word may be depended on, and would beg of your honor that he may be used with every civility that the nature of the case will admit of."—Likewise was informed that Mr. Lundy found means to escape from the guards at New York; that Gov. Skeene was brought forward. These came to my hand the 20th, July, the day of the Continental Fast.

The next day I wrote and sent orders by safe conveyance to Col. William Pitkin, ordering that Gov. Skeene should be taken on his parole, and provided for in the manner directed by our Assembly. I then thought Col. Pitkin to be one of the Committee, or that he would hand the same to one who is. The next day Eze. Williams, Esq., one of the Committee, came to me and brought the orders of the Pennsylvania delegates—similar to the order of Congress, save an interlineation between the word *Town* and the words *of Hartford, Wethersfield, or Middletown, in the County of*, and desired my order and direction. After consideration I gave to Messrs. Samuel Wadsworth, Epaphras Bull, Ezekiel Williams, and the rest of the Committee appointed to take care of prisoners, directions to take the care and charge of Gov. Skeene, and pursue the resolve of the Continental Congress relative to him, and agreeable to their de-

sire to confine him on his parole of honor not to go out of the bounds of Hartford; and agreeable to the Act of the General Assembly, directed them to provide Gov. Skeene suitable lodgings and entertainment in some remote part of the town of Hartford, and at their discretion to permit Major Andrew P. Skeene to reside with his father, Gov. Skeene. The next day after giving this order had an opportunity to send a letter p. express to Philadelphia. I wrote to the Connecticut delegates a paragraph in the words following; viz., "Gov. Skeene is arrived. Mr. Lundy escaped. The order of the Pennsylvania delegates is interlined between the word *Town* and the words *of Hartford, Wethersfield, or Middletown, in the County of*. This is not my guide, but have attended to the resolve of Congress and the Act of our Assembly for my direction; so that Hartford is the place to which he will be confined." Soon after the General Congress adjourned.

On Col. Dyer's return he informed me of the mistake respecting Gov. Skeene; that the alteration of the resolve of Congress was made, and the interlineation inserted in the order of the Pennsylvania delegates, but omitted in that which was sent to me. Your assurances, therefore, however strong, were unknown to me, and could not be complied with. The inadvertency is applicable to himself as much as to any one, as the case was his own, and required his attention more than of any other person. He could not expect a compliance with your assurances without an alteration of the letter and order of Congress sent under seal to me, while the other was open and liable to alteration.

When these facts and occurrences are considered, I cannot see how any imputation of blame can be made to you or any other person in the present case, or how you can be liable to any just reflections on account of your transactions therein. Doth it not rather appear that Providence interposeth to prevent the operation

of his inimical purposes and designs against the constitutional rights and liberty of these Colonies? Truly, as a prisoner he is entitled to the performance of the conditions on which he was made such. But I could know of no other conditions than such as come to me authenticated from the Minutes of the Congress.

On consideration of the doings of the Congress, Act of our Assembly, and the events which happened relative to Gov. Skeene and his companion, Mr. Lundy, who escaped, I think you and others will see reason sufficient to continue him confined in some remote part of the Town of Hartford until further resolution. The desires of Congress have not been misunderstood, and so not complied with; but rather there hath happened a mistake in the communication of them, which occasions the difficulty.

I will write to the Committee, at whose discretion his lodgings and entertainment are to be provided, to consider whether his situation is well chosen, or may be altered for the better, and to take care that he be not insulted or abused, and that he do not abuse the liberty granted him. I am, with esteem and regard, Sir,

Your most Obedient, Humble Servant,

JONTH TRUMBULL.

Silas Deane, Esquire.

P. S.—Hearing you was absent on a visit to our camp, near Boston, omitted writing 'till this time.

Deane Papers, Conn. Hist. Society.

HUGH HUGHES TO ALEXANDER McDUGAL.

Philadelphia, Nov. 2d, 1775.

* * * THE Congress in general lament Mr. Deane's being superseded, as being one of the most active and indefatigable members, as well as a person

of abilities, especially in planning. It is generally tho't to be an ill timed measure, however well intended. * * *

McDougal Papers, N. Y. Historical Society.

FROM THOMAS MUMFORD.

Groton, January 10th, 1776.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of 27th, ultimo I recd. two days ago. I promise myself the pleasure of seeing you in Connecticut soon, tho' it would have given me much more satisfaction to have had you continued in Congress another year at least. I was in hopes our last Assembly wou'd have justly judged of your importance & the expediency of continuing you one of that august body, but your true friends found the junto had levied their artillery & strongly fortified against you by securing a large majority of the present members in favor of *both* Col. Dyer & you being recalled. We did not spare to sound those we thought well disposed, & upon the whole I am convinced we judged judiciously in not crouding the matter, tho. I find you have a considerable number of stanch friends in the present House. I have many things to say to you when I have the pleasure of seeing you. There was no animadversions in the House on Col. Dyers & your letter to his honor, but I understood there was much said in the Third House, and with severity, tho' not in my hearing, as all those gentry well knew my sentiments. Thadeus Burr & Sturges of Fairfield I am convinced are much set against you, with Wadsworth of Durham, & the class at Munsons, among whom was P. Bulkley. Some think Mr. Hosmore not so stanch as I expected; but for my own part I do not accuse him. He was indisposed & not in the House when the last election for delegates was brought on. I hope when you return you will be able to distinguish all your

true friends from pretended ones. You may remember I informed you and Mr. Ward that on my return from Philadelphia in Decemr. last I found Mr. Nathiel Shaw buying cattle to ship, & that his permission did not restrict therefrom ; but on my writing Mr. Ward on that subject, he gave Mr. Miller copy of his permission to send his honor, our Governor, for his opinion thereon, which his honor gave freely, & was that the resolve of Congress was against shipping horn cattle ; notwithstanding which Mr. Shaw sent one vessel out with about twenty oxen, tho' he had recd. Mr. Ward's letter enjoining the contrary some days before. This conduct of his made a considerable noise in the country (tho' not among the New London Committee), to appease which Mr. Chrr. Leffingwell informs me he apply'd to his honor our Governour & Council of Safety to take to their acct. the cargoes of the two vessels he sent out with cattle, as he said on acct. of Congress & by permission of your Committee.

One of these vessels had been sailed near a month, the other a fortnight, when he made this transfer (as his honor accepted his proposal). Suppose one or both of these vessels had met with any disaster soon after they sailed, whose loss do you imagine they would have been? I leave you to judge. I will trouble you no more at present. Being truly, my Dear Sir,

Your Sincere & Affect.,

THOS. MUMFORD.

P. S.—Lieut. Hinman has enlisted near forty saylors here, & now waits for those from New Haven & Fairfield. You will see them soon.

T. M.

Silas Deane, Esq.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Paris, Sept. 15th, 1776.

SIR,—The bearer, Monsieur De La Brosse, has served as a captain in the armies of France, and has a desire to distinguish himself in the army under your command in defence of the liberties of America, and I doubt not you will receive him with pleasure. A number of gentlemen are about parting to join your standard, but Mr. De La Brosse will probably be one of the first that arrives. Officers passing from one service to another expect advancement, and Mr. De La Brosse hopes to obtain the rank of a lieut. colonel. I have wrote to the Honorable Congress on the subject, and am confident he will exert himself to give them and you satisfaction of his abilities and zeal for the service.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest esteem,
your Excellency's

Most Obedient & most Humble Servant,

SILAS DEANE.

TO THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

Paris, Sept. 15th, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,—This will be delivered to you by Monsr. De La Brosse, a French gentleman and a captain in the French service, but out of employ since a late general reform of the army. He has the recommendation of the officers of the regiment in which he served; and Monsr. Dubourg, who on all occasions has the interest of the Colonies much at heart, tells me he has had the best character of him. For myself, Monsr. De La Brosse has shewn such a desire to serve the United Colonies, in going without any certainty of a commission, that I have engaged to be at the expense

of his passage, and have full confidence that he will serve you with fidelity. Every officer leaving this country naturally expects some advancement of rank, and Mr. De La Brosse has proposed that of a lieutenant, colonel, or an equivalent. As the army is now so large, I doubt not you can procure him that, or such other as you shall judge his acquirements & capacity deserve. His ardor to serve the cause of America is evidently sincere and unaffected, and I am ever ready to forward persons so disposed, and to assure them of a favourable reception by the Honorable Congress. I am, with the greatest esteem, gentlemen,

Your most obedient & very humble servant,

SILAS DEANE.

To the Hon. Committee of Congress
for Secret Correspondence.

TO COUNT DE VERGENNES.

Paris, Nov. 18th, 1776.

MONSIEUR LE COMPTE,—By my former letters of this day and yesterday, which I had the honor to write your Excellency, some questions of favour and the like may possibly rise, which on all occasions I wish to avoid.

I have, therefore, to desire a few minutes audience of your Excellency, meerly as a private person, that I may have your general direction or advise at this delicate, critical, and important crisis, previous to any application in a more public manner.

I write this in consequence of Mons. Beaumarchais' interview with your Excellency this morning, and am, with the greatest respect, your Excellency's

Most Obedt. & most devoted Humbl. Servt.,

S. DEANE.

TO CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

Paris, March 24th, 1777.

SIR,—I find myself obliged to urge you to give most prompt and serious attention to the idea I communicated to you some days ago, on the subject of a loan for America. Without this help it is impossible for us to answer for events, the outcome of which is nevertheless of most infinite importance. Relying on your capacity and your zeal for the cause of the Americans, and knowing how great and generous is the interest you take in it, I am glad to persuade myself that you will neglect nothing at this critical moment, when, unless aided by some essential encouragement sent from Europe, our very successes will force my fellow citizens to accept the conditions which are about to be offered them. For my part, nothing is farther from my thoughts than to see my country again if ever it is dependent in any way on England. I have always had the pleasure of seeing that your sentiments are in accord with mine on the subject of America, and the real satisfaction of receiving from you most important aid on all occasions. You are also at this moment yourself interested in redoubling your efforts, for if a reconciliation takes place at any price, England will immediately turn her resentment and forces against France, which she does not dare to do now, and which she will never be able to undertake if she finds herself separated from America for ever. One of our proverbs says: "A friend in need is a friend indeed." I will make no reflection on it, but be assured that without aid, and without substantial aid, it will be impossible to continue the war against Great Britain and her allies any longer; it cannot be expected. I am quite sure that the very thought of our subjugation affects you sensibly; for my part, I will not think of it, desiring not to live a moment after so great a misfortune. I shall see you

to-morrow morning, when I shall further enlarge on this subject, which is of the utmost importance and extremely urgent. I wish you good night, and am

Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mons. Beaumarchais.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 1493.

TO CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

Paris, March 27th, 1777.

SIR,—I wrote to you on the 24th, on the subject of a loan. I will not repeat here the arguments which I employed then, but I cannot help assuring you that if we cannot obtain help by a loan or otherwise, it is certain that Great Britain and our Colonies will come to an agreement, and you, as well as I, have long since foreseen the consequences of such a reconciliation. I am quite determined always to oppose the views of Great Britain and never to return to her rule. After what I have seen and the part I have played, death is preferable; but the American people can no longer resist a power considered the first in Europe, aided, moreover, by powerful allies, and suffer all the horrors of war and devastation, when peace is offered them on one hand, and no hope of essential help on the other. As far as I am concerned, I have never acted except from the noblest and purest principles, and my conduct (notwithstanding the absurd calumnies of my enemies) has always been based on reason and conformable in every thing to the strictest rules of honor. I am resolved always to act in the same manner, and consequently I will never lend myself to any proposal of accommodation or submission, and shall continue the course I have adopted, but I do not and cannot even expect to see all my fellow citizens follow my example. I cannot flatter myself that they will be able, without the aid which they have been led

to expect, and which they have a right to expect, to resist the ravages and desolation of the most atrocious war which has ever been made, not only by civilized nations, but even by savages.

I await your reply with the greatest impatience, and am,

Yours, &c.,

S. DEANE.

Mons. Beaumarchais.

Stevens's Facsimiles, No. 1498.

TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Passy, Dec. 19th, 1777.

DEAR SIR,—I this instant received the enclosed, and as I do not fully understand the meaning of it, I judged it necessary to go immediately and see Mr. Gerard. I will be back by about eight o'clock. I think that it is designed that our letter should be sent by the Minister's messenger. It is, perhaps, the most proper; if so, it must be compleated this evening, as well as the letter of credit. I am, with the utmost respect, Dear Sir,

Your most obedt. and very humble servt.,

SILAS DEANE.

Benjamin Franklin, Esq.

Holbrooke Mss.

BARNABAS DEANE TO COL. SAMUEL B. WEBB.

Wethersfield, March 27th, 1778.

MY DEAR SIR,—I was much disappointed on my return from Boston to find that you was not exchanged, and that you was gone into New York. However, I have the satisfaction to hear that you are in our good friend Sherbrooke's family, where I am certain you will meet with every civility that you could wish. Our little boy [Jesse Deane] sailed for Europe six

weeks ago. I make no doubt he is with his father by this time. I should be much obliged to you for the newspapers from New York when you have an opp'y. Also please to write me if there is any of our vessels bro't into New York. Please to make my compliments to Mr. Sherbrooke & his lady. I am with esteem, Dear Sir,

Your Very Humble Servt.,

B. DEANE.

COL. SAMUEL B. WEBB,

Prisoner in New York.

To be left with Mr. Miles Sherbrooke.

Webb Papers, property of Mrs. Henry H. Oberly.

TO JAMES WILSON.

Passy, near Paris, Oct. 9th, 1780.

DEAR SIR,—I have received but one letter from Mr. Jay, which having been written before he received any from me, I have no account of the letter of our late friend Don Juan, on account of the mast contract. I have seen Mr. Gerard, who tells me the affair you wrote to him upon had met the approbation of the Ministry, and that every thing was ready to be laid before the king as soon as circumstances would permit, and that immediately after, you should hear from him. I have heard nothing from Mr. Bird. I shall improve the first private conveyance to execute the little order of Mrs. Turner [cipher translated]. Young de Francey will write you the state of public affairs. It is a disagreeable business, situated as we are, but generally it is my opinion that overtures will be made soon for a peace or truce, probably the latter, and that they will not be made on the part of England, but of our friends. We are become unpopular in France, and the credit of England is found to exceed all expectations. I have the most reliable and definite

information, and I assure you *entre nous* that it will lye solely with England to continue or end the war by a truce, which will naturally be followed by a peace.

I know not what the terms of the truce will be, but probably similar to the terms of Spain formerly. Use this for your own information. From my advices, few know anything of it; and if it fail I have only lost my conjecture; for that terms of that nature will be made, if not fixed, I am positive. I know not but it will be best for us, for we are in low credit, and our part is finally become more unpopular in Europe, and in another year like the present would probably be wholly forgotten. England has a private agent at Madrid. Independence is no more, and everything appears in favor of England. Holland offered lately to mediate with Spain for a peace with England. The offered mediation is come to nothing. Adieu.

Yours, etc.,

S. DEANE.

James Wilson, Esq.

Thomas Mss.

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Ross accuses him of falsehood, 455 ; demands a copy of Williams's power to act as agent, 457 ; his inquiries about Capt. Hynson, and the stolen despatches, 458 ; also about Gen. Conway, 460 ; disapproves the accounts of Williams, 473 ; has one of the most disagreeable dispositions in the world, 473 ; defeats all business, and quarrels with all who have any concern with him, 473 ; his letters accusing Deane read before Congress, 485, 490 ; a correspondent of Dr. Berkenhout, iii. 2 ; Izard's charges against Deane furnished by, 4 ; his connection with the treaty, 8 ; Deane's observations on his letters to Congress, 13, 26, 190, 192 ; Chaumont finds him jealous, unquiet, and quarrelsome, 14 ; accuses Deane of being a defaulter, 15 ; Franklin and others have the opinion that from a long indulgence of his jealous and suspicious disposition and habits of mind, he has arrived on the borders of insanity, 18 ; not satisfied with any one person he did business with, 20 ; lived in Chaumont's house, 20 ; payments to, from the public funds, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 ; his relations with Count Lauraguais, 39 ; Holker refuses to transact business with, on account of his bad temper, 40 ; insults Jonathan Williams, 41 ; his nephew employed in the house of Schweighauser at Nantes, 41 ; his charge of extravagance in clothing disproved, 56 ; letters read before Congress complaining of Hodge and Wharton, 58 ; his correspondence with Dr. Berkenhout in France, 65, 69, 73, 96 ; his letter to Petrie of London on the signing of the treaty, 65, 71, 82 ; his mission to Spain a failure, 67 ; makes the tour of Germany to arrive at Berlin, 67 ; where he loses his papers by which the secrets of the Commissioners were made known to the British, 67 ; authorized to go to Madrid, 68 ; Lord Shelburne his patron in England, to whom he disclosed secrets, 69 ; his hatred and contempt for the French nation, 69 ; sends his secretary to London with news of the treaty, 70 ; claims the credit of the treaty of Paris, 80 ; states that Deane made sixty thousand pounds while Commissioner, 81 ; Robert Treat Paine wishes to know if he holds two commissions

and was intimate with Dr. Berkenhout, 82; the two brothers represent the States at four of the principal courts of Europe, 83; commissioned to obtain information of English affairs, 96; he knew Dr. Berkenhout only as a man of science, 130; and his correspondence was not criminal, 130; Deane refuses to transmit to Congress his charges against Joseph Reed and John Langdon, 152; his friend Carmichael informs Deane of his jealous and suspicious disposition, 154; promises to visit Paris incog., but his arrival and stay was no secret, 155; Deane's first interview with him was at the house of Beaumarchais, 155; his groundless suspicion of Reed and Langdon, 154, 155; charges Carmichael with opening despatches, 156; he never expressed the opinion in Paris that Beaumarchais was furnished with public money, 156; supposing him to have lost favor at court he speaks of him with contempt, 156; and stated that Beaumarchais told him in London that he had received money from the French government to aid the colonies, which statement Beaumarchais denied, 157; sets out for Madrid, 161, 168; his mission through his indiscretion becoming public, he was stopped at Burgos by order of the government, 174; he was supplied with two hundred thousand livres, 174; disagreement with Holker in regard to clothes for the army, 174; his jealous disposition gave general disgust, 175; sets out for Holland to negotiate a loan, has his papers stolen at Berlin, 175; correspondence with Dr. Berkenhout, 178; the loss of his papers gives the British information of ships building in Holland, 179; employs Thornton as his private secretary, 181; his jealousy and contempt of the French embarrassing to Franklin and Deane, 181, 189; Franklin thinks his head affected, 181; refuses to sign the treaty unless alterations are made, but Gerard induces him to agree, 181; writes to a friend in London the day the treaty was signed, notifying him of the fact, 182; refuses to trust Carmichael with the despatches, 182; sends his own by Stephenson, 182; penurious, 189; his suspicion of private mercantile ventures by

Deane groundless, 196; not friendly to Dr. Bancroft, 201; before Deane went to France, Lee claims that the supply of arms and goods were engaged by him, and were to be sent as a present to Congress, 222, 327; Paine praises his service abroad, 236; sends information to Congress by a prisoner released from England, concealed in a button, 236; the objections made to A. and W. Lee that they had two brothers in Congress, considered by Paine a great honor to have so many representative Whigs in one family, 271; sketch of his life in the *Morning Post*, 275; studied law in London, 275; was bred to physic in Edinburgh and made an unsuccessful attempt to practise in London, 276; his journey to Berlin in company with Sayres, 276; the loss of his papers, 276, 286; has a family homeliness, ill natured asperity of manners, and selfishness, 277; a defence of, printed in *Pa. Packet*, signed a Republican, 281; takes exception to Deane's expression that he was saddled with a colleague, 283; account of his public services, 283; his connection with Beaumarchais and correspondence under the assumed name of Mary Johnston, 293; his assistance requested by his brother William in preparing an answer to Deane, 347; John Adams decides that Lee and himself are of no consequence in France where Franklin holds the highest position, 350; and Lee's contrivances render business difficult, 350; Adams informs Vergennes of his personal knowledge of Lee, and of his important services to, and loyalty to America, 354; on bad terms with Dr. Franklin, 357; Adams convinced that he is honest and faithful, 357; Paine admits that his secretary went to England at the time of signing the treaty, 373; informed by Franklin of his appointment as minister plenipotentiary, 375; acknowledges the letter, will call to pay his compliments, 375; was about inquiring if Franklin authorized Deane to make use of his name in his outrageous abuse of him, 376; Franklin sends an order for the delivery of all the public papers in his possession, 376; Lee replies that he has no papers relating to the depart-

ment of the minister, but if he refers to the joint Commissioners he denies his authority to demand them, and will refer the matter to Congress, 379; his brother William writes that he cannot go to Paris as requested, 380; dreads their recall, 380; before acting, wishes to know what occurred in Congress, 380; wants to know if Arthur is going to America in case of the worst, 381; writes to Congress in reply to Deane's remarks on his letter of June 1, 1778, the bankers accounts not satisfactory to him, 383; and he can gather no information of defalcation from the papers he has examined, 383; Mr. Williams refuses to account to him, 384; he is only certain of the money he drew himself, 384; when he stated a public minister could not live on less than three thousand a year, he did not mean that he had spent that sum, 385; writes to the Committee on Foreign Affairs that he will reply to Deane's statements, 396; explains his refusal to give the public papers to Franklin, 397; Samuel Adams says he made improper use of the weapons in his hands, 399; Paine's blunder in claiming for Lee the credit of procuring supplies from France, 399; Benjamin Austin has some doubts about his connection with England, 400; which Samuel Adams attempts to remove by an eulogy of his friend Lee, 400; Franklin informs him that John Adams has delivered the papers in his charge, and that Lee can have authenticated copies of those in his possession to use in his reply to Deane's accusations, 402; having no concern in them, nor interest in supporting them, 403; Lee offers to give him copies, and insinuates that he seems too eager to secure the few originals in his possession, 404; Franklin accepts his offer of authenticated copies, says his suspicions are groundless and injurious, 405; proceedings in Congress aimed particularly at his recall, 431; Lovell states that nothing short of the ruin of his reputation will glut the malice of Deane's party, 432; his statement of the amount necessary to support a Commissioner, 434; amount of money drawn by him from the banker of Congress, 437; William Paca and

William H. Drayton present a report to Congress urging his recall, 437; his conduct disgusting to the courts he was credited to, notwithstanding the statements in his favor by S. Adams and J. Lovell, 438; Franklin communicates the letter of Vergennes distrusting him, 438; and that he was not trusted with the secret of Deane's departure, 439; while his recall was under discussion by Congress William Carmichael submitted a statement declaring that he lacked the confidence of the Court of France, 441; and the Court of Madrid, 441; his connection with Lord Shelburne, 441; his quarrels with the Commissioners, 441; that before he was appointed one, he was inimical to Deane, 444; that he tried to allay his suspicions, 444; effect of his correspondence with Berkenhout, 445; condemns Lee for his pride and obstinacy 448; writes to Samuel Adams enclosing material for use against Deane, 462; the affairs in France are in a bad way through corruption, baseness, and pilfering, 463; suggests that Charles Carroll be sent out as minister, 463; accuses Franklin of cunning and deceit in trying to obtain the public papers, 463; states that Gerard lacks the confidence of the minister, and that any compliments on his leaving America will be unsatisfactory to the government, 464; America must depend on her own resources, and not depend on France, 464; encloses two propositions he intended to make at Amsterdam, but was prevented by the jealousy of Franklin, 465; of whom Dumas is the creature, and an old woman, 465; if Congress intend to retain their Commissioners they must provide a fund for their support independent of the control of Franklin, 465; who, from envy, hatred, and malice, will evade payments, 465; besides, he is given to saying the thing that is not, 465; replies to Carter Braxton's letter to John Ross making a general denial of charges, exalts the Lees, and charges Braxton with being corrupt, 465; Laurens's motion in Congress to detain Deane until the arrival of Lee lost, 484; proceedings of the junto in Congress in his favor, 489; exertions of his

friends to prevent his recall, 490; sends copies of letters to R. H. Lee, iv. 1; in doubt regarding the claim of Beaumarchais, 2; Deane kept him in the dark, 2; his denial in the *Leyden Gazette* of Deane's charges, 26; printed in America by Samuel Adams, 26, 49; James Lovell arranges with Samuel Adams and R. H. Lee to prepare a set of vouchers for his defence, 40; letter to Franklin, 42; his diary of one week's social calls in Paris, 44; Lovell states that Deane failed to prove all the charges against, except lack of confidence by the French Court, 46; Franklin the inveterate foe of, 48; articles in his defence, signed Rowland, by R. H. Lee, assisted by Lovell, 49, 63, 73, 79; proceedings in Congress on the motion to recall, 49; defence of his correspondence with London, 51; discharges his secretary, Thornton, 65; his letters to Lord Shelburne, 65; his action in regard to the treaty with France, 73; his connection with Dr. Berkenhout, 75; in response to his inquiry S. Petrie states that the news of the signing of the treaty was sent to London by W. Lee, 81; thinks Petrie was mistaken about his brother, 82; writes a letter commending Paine for his able articles, and abusing Deane, 83; his letter received by Congress, 88; writes to Samuel Adams the policy of Deane is to accuse someone else of the crime he has committed, 99; he will connect his meetings with Paul Wentworth, a British spy, 99; the most wicked and dangerous of his enemies is Carmichael, who is subtle, false, and ambitious, 99; he pretended to abuse Deane and Franklin to obtain Lee's confidence, 99; the villains are assisted by the old man Franklin, 100; believes that Deane and Franklin intended to have him imprisoned, 100; relies on John Adams to represent the true state of affairs, 100; indebted to Samuel Adams for the praise of his address, 101; the shameful conduct of putting such a person as Paul Jones in command, 101; obliged for the introduction to Dr. Gordon, and hopes John Adams will be returned to Congress, 102; Paca and Drayton's report printed at N.Y., 105; succeeded by John Jay as Min-

ister to Spain, 107; by which the whole of the family are disposed of, 108; prints a pamphlet against Dr. Franklin, 115; his letter to Congress printed at Phil., and answered by Joseph Wharton, 148; Deane points out the letter to be a forgery written in Phil., 150; finding himself and Izard incapable of doing more mischief, they are shifting the scene to America, 152; sailed for America, charged with all the malice and revenge which hell is capable of inspiring him with, 177; obnoxious to the people of France, 191, 201; suspected, with John Adams, of attempting to defeat the treaty with France and make terms with England, 191; remained in France more than a year after his recall, and did not settle his public or private accounts, 230, 254; in Phil., publishing a new edition of Paine's attacks, 245; trying to injure Dr. Franklin, 246; receives no support in Phil., 270; Paine, in France, says he is not attached to him, 305; Deane indifferent to his publications, 330; informs Samuel Adams of his defeat by the vote of seven States and the election by Congress of Chancellor Livingston as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 447; thinks the election a serious evil to the Eastern States, 447; if elected he would probably find a cabal against him, 448; R. Morris, Luzerne, Vergennes, Franklin, and Jay his enemies, 448; the election a victory for New York and the French party, 448; his accounts passed upon at Phil., 453; printing away and stirring up fresh factions, 548; Gordon informs him of the publication of Franklin's certificates in Deane's favor, v. 153; informed by Morris of the existence of the contract by the Committee with Deane in 1776, 199; a most jealous and artful enemy of Deane, 240; his estimate of the expenses of a Commissioner, 252; on hearing of the secret despatches of Deane, wrote to his brother in Congress denouncing him, 357; claimed that William Lee and Ralph Izard ought to be consulted by the Commissioners, 358; charges Deane with defaulting, 369; his charges against Joseph Reed, 378; payments to, 414; his statement that Beaumarchais acted for the King of

- France, and that the goods were a present, 422; believed that the declaration of the alliance with France would end the war, 447.
- Lee, Gen. Charles, to command the Southern Department, i. 138; his command crosses the North River, 408; captured, 489; stated that the Howes wished to renew a conference with Congress, ii. 67.
- Lee, Francis Lightfoot, informed of affairs in France by William Lee, ii. 98; influential in Congress, 171; commercial relations with his brother William, 214; who informs him of events that may come before Congress, 216, 237; his brother William complains to him of the behavior of John Ross, agent for Robert Morris, 369; requests a suspension of judgment in regard to the charges of Deane against his family, iii. 77; informed by Lovell of the proceedings in Congress, 78; reply to his card by R. T. Paine, 84; joined the Northern faction opposed to Washington, 275; his connection with Lovell and Adams in defending the Lees, iv. 47.
- Lee, Capt. John, commander of the privateer Hawke, seized as a pirate at Bilboa, i. 314, 322, 325, 327, 328; ii. 106; released, 368, 369, 389; in distress at Paris, iv. 302.
- Lee, Col. Richard Henry, delegate to Congress, i. 25; described, 27; member of Naval Committee, 91; member of the Secret Committee, 336; employs J. P. Merklé as an agent, ii. 21; an active member of the Secret Committee, 99; informed of affairs in France by William Lee, 102; influential in Congress, 171; commercial relations with his brother William, 214; who informs him of events that may come before Congress, 216; copy of de Sartine's letter sent to, 218; one of the triumvirate in Congress opposed to Hancock and Deane, 482; his relations with Dr. Berkenhout, iii. 73, 97; the four brothers hold office, 75; and two represent the U. S. at four courts, 83; absent in Va., 87; Paine praises his personal qualities, 95; has but one hand, 95; Carter Braxton of Va. states that the Lees are actuated by base principles, and full of art and intrigue, 129; R. H. Lee's interest in Congress, joined to that of the Eastern States, was too great to be withstood, 129; said to have received no letter from Arthur by Dr. Berkenhout, 130; credible, says Candid, for a whole family to step forward to serve their country, they will retire when their services are no longer needed, 132; Paine praises his services in conducting the foreign affairs, 233; replies to Deane's address, which he calls a long libel, 239; recites his long public service, 240; explains his relations with Dr. Berkenhout, 240; said to have joined the northern faction against Washington, 275, 325; Deane replies to his statement, 320; will take no notice of the terms used by him of libels, fabulous, inuendo, etc., than to observe that it supports the statement of Paine, that he was for several years his intimate acquaintance, and profited by his conversations, 320; was present at Deane's and Carmichael's examination before Congress, 321; his assertion that America had a right to make peace without consulting France, 322; his declaration of his honor as a gentleman and faith as a Christian disproved by his statement about Deane, 324; prevents the reasons for Deane's recall from being entered on the journals of Congress, 336; Col. Stewart calls him an artful, designing, and wicked man, who will not be returned to Congress, notwithstanding his oratory and weeping, 342; his brother William sends papers from France to be used against Deane, 352; requested not to allow Deane's accounts to pass, 353; Adams informs Vergennes of his good character, 355; Drayton's defence of his connection with Dr. Berkenhout, 392; the junto in Congress and their proceedings, 485; his brother Arthur forwards copies of letters to be used in his defence, iv. 1; influences the passage of a bill by the Assembly of Va., for revenge, 12, 17; arrangement with James Lovell and Samuel Adams to prepare a set of papers to defend A. Lee, 40, 47; defends his brother, over the signature of Rowland, 49, 63, 73, 79; selections for Rowland, 61; ill from overwork, 88; referred to by Laurens as Rowland, 90; pre-

- sented to the Congress of 1775, Dr. Franklin's proposals for an accommodation with Great Britain, v. 27.
- Lee, Thomas, mentioned, ii. 214; son of R. H. Lee, a partner in the house of Mr. Schweighauser at Nantes, who have the disposition of prizes, iii. 41.
- Lee, William, to visit Deane at Paris, i. 304; suspects the honesty of Dr. Bancroft, 350, 365; appointed commercial agent with Thomas Morris, 476, 491; Bancroft accuses him of furnishing information to the ministry, 486; recommended by his brother Arthur as commercial agent, ii. 22; expected at Nantes, 66; at Paris, 86; no authority over Continental property, 87; cannot act as joint agent without instructions, 95, 97, 102; complains that his letters are opened, 99, 102; summoned by Deane from London, he left behind all his property, 99, 102; accuses Deane of private gain at public expense, 99; expects Great Britain to make peace, 100, 104; nothing can hurt America but disunion, 101; poor opinion of Thomas Morris, 102; wishes to be sole agent, 103; does not want to be associated with Carmichael, 103; to act at once, 103; to inform Richard Henry Lee of affairs in France, 104; informed that the Commissioners have no funds, 119; his letters unfavorable to Thomas Morris, 147, 151, 152, 154; settled his business in London, 213; commercial relations with his brothers, 214; sends memorandum of public goods shipped from France, to be inquired about, 214; finds fault with the tobacco contract, 214; has honor but no profit as agent, 214; has no ability in the crooked paths of courts, 215; above 40 years old, it is too late to learn languages, 215; wishes to leave Paris, 215; would like an appointment in Holland to negotiate a loan, 215; dislike of Carmichael, 215; complains of the management of Williams and others in regard to prizes, 216, 236, 237; accuses Deane and Franklin of dishonesty, 218; suggests the appointment of John Lloyd as commercial superintendent at Nantes, 219; solicits business from merchants in America, 219; appointed as Commissioner to Vienna and Prussia, 235; supposes he has the same powers as the Commissioners at Paris, 236; Congress makes no provision for support of the office, 236; cannot serve in the mercantile line, as Deane has given the work to Williams, 336; wants the accounts of supplies from France and Spain investigated by Congress, 237; would like to purchase the army supplies, 238; delegates his power as commercial agent to Mr. Montaudoin, 272; and leaves Thomas Morris at Nantes, 272; his brother Arthur's impudent behavior to Deane on the appointment of Williams as agent, 272; replies to Deane's letter to his brother, 275; secured every shilling of the little property he had in London, before he left it, 328; hesitated to assume his duties at Nantes, as the fate of America was doubtful, 328; pretended to have left a fortune after him, and still retains his office of Alderman of London, 328; the Adelpi at Chaillot, employed in writing journals, memoirs, or ridiculous letters, 329; his ill treatment of Dr. Bancroft, 343; goes to Nantes on the death of Thomas Morris, 353, 358; obtains an order from court for the papers of Morris, 359; his brother Arthur informs Samuel Adams that Franklin and Deane conspired to injure him as commercial agent, 368; his visit to Nantes to form a plan for conducting the commercial business, 369; denounces John Ross, 369; about going on his embassy to Germany, 369; spent seven months at Paris, 375; seizes the private papers of Morris, Willing & Co., and those of Thomas Morris, 386; pretends to have found a letter of Deane proving his dishonesty, 387; Ross threatens to punish him, 388; after a private examination of the papers of Morris, has the trunk sealed and forwarded to the Commissioners, 390; Deane demands the return of letters of Ross, lent to him, 390; and an explanation of the statement that he had found a letter implicating him of imposition on the public, 391; maintains a secret correspondence with London, 401; appoints deputy commercial agents, 407; explanation of the seizure of the papers of Morris, 409;

nominated by the Secret Committee as Commissioner to Berlin, he has received no official commission, 407; appears as ambassador at Vienna and Berlin, commercial agent in France, and alderman of London, 407; expects profit only from the agency, 407; states that the report implicating Deane is groundless, 409, 412; hostility to John Ross, 409, 412, 417, 418, 423; mistaken in regard to the appointment of Williams to dispose of prizes, 412; gave up a respectable station for life, and private fortune, to serve in France, 413; misrepresents the appointment of Williams, 421; Ross, not impressed by his high offices, demands the return of the Morris papers, 424, 426; had no commission as commercial agent, 438; in Germany, 460; his account to the Commissioners of the seizure of the papers of Thomas Morris, 463; his letter to the Committee on Foreign Affairs read in Congress, 472; his complaint of the encroachment of the Commissioners on the powers of the commercial agents, iii. 9, 10; not commissioned as commercial agent, 10, 11; appointed to Vienna and Berlin, 10; his plurality of appointments, 11; kept secret his connection with American affairs that it might not injure his interests in London, 11; payments to, from public funds, 27, 28, 32; shares five per cent. commission with his deputies, 57; informs his friends in London that he will retain the office of alderman, 59; acting for the good of the U. S. and England, 59; notified of his appointment as commercial agent in Feb., 1777, he arrived in Paris, from London, in June, 68, 176; he went to Nantes in August, where he declined to be active, lest it would hurt his interest in England, 68; returned to Paris in October, where he received his appointment to Vienna and Berlin, 68; where he remained inactive, concealing his appointments, 68; the news of Burgoyne's surrender inspired him to give some attention to his office, 68; since gone to Vienna, after appointing deputy agents, who share commissions with him, 68; he removed Williams, who received two per cent., his deputies receive five, 69; Robert T. Paine

asks if he is not Commissioner to Berlin, commercial agent in France, and alderman in London, 82; his office of alderman of London, iii. 99, 101, 121, 128, 130, 140, 235, 395; the Commissioners having paid for the repairs of armed vessels, the commercial agents sold the prizes, and refusing to account, the captains were ordered to send their prizes to Mr. Williams, 168; Robert Morris informs Deane that William Lee was appointed commercial agent to act jointly with Thomas Morris, 175; having interests in London and his family there, he refuses to be known publicly as interested in American affairs, 176; but joins Morris in complaining of the appointment of Williams as prize agent, 176; he continued in Paris, with the exception of going to Nantes to take possession of the papers of T. Morris, 176; paid by the Commissioners to enable him to go on his mission to Berlin, 176; before his departure he appoints deputy commercial agents, 177; Williams refuses to divide commissions with him, 177; not successful in obtaining the confidence and esteem of individuals or public bodies, 189; acquainted with Dr. Burkenhout, 241; noted for his avarice, parsimony, selfishness, and meanness, 276; reads Deane's address, and writes to his brother Arthur that it is filled with impudent falsehoods, 346; prepares to have an answer made, 347; encloses papers to Richard Henry to be used against Deane, 352; he never solicited anything from Congress, his present appointment was disagreeable, but would have no objection in continuing in it, 352; thinks Deane's object to have himself and brother recalled, 353; asks that Deane's accounts be never allowed to pass without vouchers, and that an inquiry will bring the most infamous transactions to light, 353; from the apprehension of which arises Deane and Franklin's mortal hatred against himself and brother Arthur, 353; in reply to a letter of his brother Arthur, who requested his presence in Paris, he declines to make the journey unless assured of the proceedings in Congress, 380; thinks Deane has been foiled, but

- others may occasion the recall of himself and Arthur, 380; Izard will certify of what he personally knows, 380; wishes to know if he was attacked by Congress or America, 380; sends his affidavit in reply to Deane's charges to R. H. Lee, care of Samuel Adams, 385; has drawn up a full account of his services, 386; hears that the plot contrived to injure the reputation of Mr. Schweighauser and his son-in-law, Mr. Dobree, has been transferred to America, 386; encloses a copy of the letter of Baron de Breteuil approving of his conduct at Vienna, 386; it would be unfortunate if the calumny of Deane would deprive him of his office in Germany, 387; writes his brother Arthur that he saw his letter in the papers, and that hasty measures are injurious, 389; that Franklin's promotion makes him King of America, 389; America has struggled to a fine purpose to make a Ben. instead of a Geo., 389; peace in Germany will make work for him, and also for Izard, 389; Mat. Clarkson was a Scotch notary, who no doubt thinks with his countryman Ross that they have control of America under their patron, Robert Morris, 389; Drayton defends his position as commercial agent and Commissioner, 393; and denies the aldermanship, 395; the bulk of his fortune in Va., 395; sends Izard a statement of the division of Congress on the case of Deane, iv. 13; his reply received in Boston, 13; sends word to London that the treaty was signed, 81; agent for soliciting a loan, 227; did not settle his public accounts in Europe, 230, 254; writes to Arthur Lee that Deane is continually abusing his country, 269; ridicules Franklin's certificate of Deane's honesty, and states that he was equally guilty, v. 119; and still an associate of Deane, 130; made one journey to Vienna on account of the public, and received 72,000 livres for private expenses, 252; claimed that he ought to be consulted by the Commissioners to France, 358.
- Le Fevre, Mr., a dishonest man, ii. 113.
- Leghorn, interested in American commerce, i. 293, 366; frigates can be purchased at, 375, 396.
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- Le Roy, Julien David, introduced to Deane by Franklin, i. 123; director of the Academy, well known in the literary world, but unheard of in politics, iii. 148; hospitable and friendly to Deane, 148.
- Levy, Miss, mentioned, i. 22.
- Levy, Capt., at Bordeaux, i. 401.
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- Le Moyne, Mr., merchant at Bordeaux, ii. 282.
- Liberty, a race horse, i. 70.
- Liebart and Co., merchants at Ostend, v. 87.
- Limozin, Andrew, banker at Havre de Grace, agent for Congress, i. 431, 462, 470, 474; ii. 219, 240, 292, 335, 363, 381, 409, 413; agent of Chaumont, 131, 175; gives Arthur Lee an account of Capt. Hynson, 458; corresponds with Simeon Deane, iv. 24.
- L'Indien, frigate, purchased, iii. 26; commanded by Capt. Gillon, sails for America, iv. 478.
- Lion, ship, fitting out at Nantes, ii. 105, 211, 223, 225, 256, 258, 259.
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- Livingston, Col. Brockholst, at Madrid with Jay, iv. 226, 242.
- Livingston, Margaret, her bill protested in London, i. 434; v. 398.
- Livingston, Musco, gives information in regard to the proceedings of Dr. Bancroft, iv. 64; Lieut. on the Boston, frigate, now commands the Gov. Livingston, 64.
- Livingston, Philip, delegate to Congress, i. 24, 47; contract with Deane, 117; ships goods, 457.
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- ter for Foreign Affairs, 447; an enemy to the Eastern States, 447; notifies Jay of the publication of Deane's letters in New York, and cautions him against any communication with him, 524; transmits copies of Deane's letters to his brother Barnabas and Thomas Mumford, by order of Congress, v. 10, 14, 16, 58; considers them new proofs of his defection, 11; has no doubt of Deane's apostacy, 58; approves of Gov. Trumbull's answer to Deane, 102; in Paris, 130.
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- Lloyd, John, of S. C., merchant at Nantes, reflects on Deane's character, ii. 171; a distant relative of Carmichael, 215; William Lee suggests his appointment as commercial superintending agent in France, 219, 237; sends Deane an account of the capture of Burgoyne, 330; aids Lee in securing the papers of Morris, 386, 390.
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